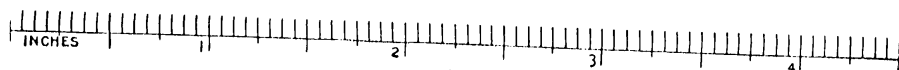


47715



¶ A Chronicle, conteyning
the liues of tenne Emperours
of Rome.

Wherin are discouered, their beginnings,
proceedings, and endings, worthe to be
read, marked, and remembred.

Wherein are also conteyned Lawes of
speciall profite and policie.

Sentences of singular shortnesse
and swætenesse.

Orations of great grauitie and
wisedome.

Letters of rare learning and
eloquence.

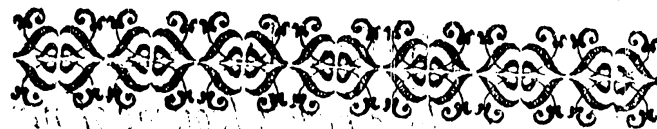
Examples of vices carefully to be auoy-
ded, and notable paternes of vertue
fruitfull to be followed.

Compiled by the most famous Syr Antho-
nie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo,
Preacher, Chronicler, and counsellour to the
Emperour Charles the fift: and translated
out of Spanishe into English, by Ed-
ward Hellowes, Groome of her
Maiesties Leashe.

¶ Hereunto is also annexed a table, recapitulating such
particularities, as are in this booke mentioned.

Imprinted at London for Ralphe New-
berrie dwelling in Fleetstreete.

Anno Gratia 1577.



TO THE MOST EX-
cellent and vertuous Princesse, and
our gracious souereigne Ladie Eliza-

beth, by the grace of GOD; of Englande,
Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene: defen-
der of the Christian Faith. &c.

Long life, with accomplish-
ment of all Godly
desires.



RIGHT noble &
most gracious soue-
reigne: if I should
write or dedicate a-
ny thinge, as of my
selfe, vnto your ex-
cellencie, with any spark of presumption
or singularitie, as a matter meete for the
viewe of the maiestie of your sacred per-
son, or sufficient satisfaction vnto the
depth of your diuine iudgment: not only
mine owne weakenes would bewray me,

¶.ij.

and

The Epistle

and iustly yeald a cruell scourge of my discredite, but also procure my worthie reprehension, and no lesse deserued chasticemēt. But simply presuming of your maiesties milde & accustomed fauour, prouoked by the eloquence of the Author, encouraged by the profite & pleasure of the matter, imboldened because this historie hath beene dedicated by Syr Antonie of Gueuara, & accepted of Charles the fifth, an Emperour of no common renowne, and no lesse persuaded by the humblenes of a duetifull minde, as one vowed by othe and allegiance to execute my vtter seruice in euery exploit to your Maiestie: the regard whereof not leadeth but cōstraineth (although with blushing & bashfull face) to present vnto your magnificēce this my simple trauell, translated out of Spanish into the Englishhe tongue, conteyning

Dedicatorie.

ning the liues of tenne Emperours of Rome, namely, Traiane Coceius, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, Cōmodus, Pertinax, Iulianus, Seuerus, Bassianus, Heliogabalus, & Alexander Seuerus: whose liues, gouernements, ends and conclusions, giue foorth matter so meete for the spectacle of princes, as wel the vertuous of the one part to take sure direction, & good counsell to their great comfort, thereby as a sounding lead, to obtaine knowledge both of the depth & coast, to lead theselues into all safetie of bodie and minde: as also the licentious, on the other part, to moderate and staye their rash attemptes, as a sheat anchore in all furious stormes of perplexities, to saue from shipwracke both life and honour. All which being considered, in respect that the matter therein cōteyned, treateth of Kings and Emperours, and

¶.iiij. bath

The Epistle

bath beene dedicated vnto an Emperour: the woork of it selfe craueth your milde acceptation, as onely due vnto the soueraintie of your Maiesties estate, to escape the infamie of abasement. I your Maiesties most humble and loyall seruauant, in most humble wise beseeching, that of your great mildnes and clemencie, it may like your highnesse to accept this my simple present, full fraught, not of skill, but of loyaltie: wherein, for as much as the Authour in the front hereof, hath fixed so worthy a prologue, that there seemeth nothing to be omitted, or that any thing might be added: yeldeth iust cause to cease further to vrge your patience with tediousnes: most humbly beseeching your Maiestie, that it maye please the same of your great bountie to pardon all my defectes that herein may appeare: and I your Maiesties most humble

Dedicatorie.

ble and obedient seruauant, shall neuer cease to pray, that the blessing of the liuing G O D, may alwayes conduct & follow your Maiestie, with all perfect felicitie, both of bodie and soule, as may yeeld your Maiestie immortal fame before God and man.

Your Maiesties most
humble and obedi-
ent seruauant.

Edward Hellowes.

The prologue of the famous Syr
Anthonie of Gueuara, Bysshoppe of

Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, &
counsellour to the Emperour Charles
the fifth, vpon the life of tenne
Emperours of Rome.

(.)

The Author proponeth.



VARIVS GEMINVS, a man
 verie glorious, and Consul among
 the Romans, saide vnto Iulius Cae-
 sar: O Caesar and great Augustus,
 such as dare presume to speake be-
 fore thee, knowe not thy greatnesse:
 and those that are abashed to appeare in thy presence,
 comprehend not thy noblenesse: wordes in deede right
 worthie of such a person. Conformable to that which
 Varius Geminus saide, wee do saye: *It appertaineth to the*
greatnesse of Princes, that their persons be much authorised, and on
the other parte, that they endenour to communicate with their
common wealthes, for that with their mightinesse they may giue
terror, and with their plaine mildnesse remoue all feare. Sucto-
 nius saith of Octavius the emperour, that euer any am-
 bassadours came in his presence, which at the first sight
 were not touched with feare: and after in communica-
 ting did not adore him: because, great was the maiestie
 wherewith he did receiue them, and after, verie sweete
 were the woordes wherewith he did dispatch them.
 Of the great Cato Cenforine, Plutarcke saith: that be-
 ing the man of moste honestie, and greatest grauitie
 that liued amongst the Romaines: he did neuer shewe
 to any man, a sadde, but cheerefull countenance, or giue
 A. i. cuill

euill aunswere, nor shut the doore against any person, either denyed any thing that was iust, neither shamed or disgraced any man. *Not onely happie, but also most happie is the Prince, that for rectitude of iustice is feared, and for his good condition beloned.* Much weakenesse of Princes, and great Lordes is couered, and vices dissimuled, when with their owne they be of good condition, and with straungers of gratefull conuersation. Of the famous tyrant Dionysius the Siracusan, Plutarche saith: that the immortal hatred which the Sicylians did beare him, was not so much for the tyrannies that he did execute, as for the incomportable condition which he vsed: for that verie seldome he did permitt him selfe to be seene: and verie oft was heard laughing. The contrarie whereof is read of king Antigonus, the father of the greates Demetrius: whoe was proude, couetous, ambitious, cruell, and effeminate: and with all these conditions the people of his kingdomes did both suffer and serue him: onely for that they founde the doores of his house alwayes open, and in his mouth an amorous aunswere. The ende of all this which we haue saide is, humble to praye all princes, and giue warning vnto all such as be about them, alwayes to perswade and counsell them to be so humane, that all may endure their conuersation; and yet so graue, that none presume to make small accompt of them: for that it maketh much to the matter of good gouernement, to be indued with good nature and disposition. No lesse inconuenience doth followe the common wealth, for the Prince to be holden in small estimation, then to be vntractable, ouer haughtie, or straunge: for, if he be inconuersible, they abhorre him: and if not esteemed, they disobey him.

Sarda-

Sardanapalus, the last King of the Assyrians, was with all men so humane, that women made him spinne: and of Phalaris the tyrant, it is read, that he was so inconuersible, that his owne daughters durst not speake vnto him. *To the ende that Princes be not abhorred in their common wealthes, they haue to consider, and also beware to be noted of extremitie: which is to witt, in vsing too great familiaritie with some, and no lesse straungenesse with others: because much straungenesse ingendreth hatred: and too much familiaritie leadeth to contempt.* The rule that in this case wee dare giue vnto Princes, mightie and noble men, is: that they be neither so affable with their priuate and fauoured seruants, whereby to giue them hardinesse to craue any thing vniust: either so straunge with them that be not priuate, as to giue them feare to demaund iustice. It is not remoued from Princes, to giue their kingdomes vnto their children, to committ their secretes vnto such as be seruiceable, to vse their liberalitie with their priuate and fauoured seruantes, to take their pastimes with their friendes, vpon such condition, that their conuersation be somewhat generall: for as muche as the liberalitie of Princes extendeth not to satisfie euery suite: they supply much more with their amorous aunswers that they giue, then with the rewardes which they bestowe. Not ynworthily was it ordeined of the moste auncient Greekes, that the vse of Princes shoulde not be to pronounce in their letters patents, and commaundementes: *I commaund this, I will this, I forbidde this:* but that they should saye: *We commaund this, We will this, and ordeine this:* for their better remembrance, that by speaking in the name of all, they should in time be conuersant with all, be familiar with all, and diuide rewardes amongst all, and that they are of all, and not of them selues.

A.ii.

He

He that hath to holde the least parte of the prince, ought to be the prince him selfe: for that, great regarde is to be had of all men, as concerning the seruice of his person: and he ought to be vigilant in all things that are profitable to the common wealth. *Howe much the more the Prince regardeth him selfe: so much the more he neglecteth him selfe. And howe much the lesse he careth for him selfe: so much the more shall he attaine to him selfe: for that the harmonie of the common wealth consisteth in nothing more, then all men to liue of the liberalitie and bountie of the prince: and that the Prince liue in the loue of all men.*

¶ The Authour prosecuteth his intent.

It is also necessarie counsell vnto the prince, that he haue a sound minde and disposition, and his intents verie well aduertised: for that if in his affaires he make no accompt to be certeine, he shall hardly cease to erre: and if he be not attentiu to the affaires of the common wealth, he shall neuer vnderstand them.

The prince ought grauely to regarde the thing he doth, before it be done: for the errour of any other whatsoeuer, the offence is onely felt in his own house: but the errour of the prince, redoundeth to the whole common wealth. The princes that be wilfull in the thinges which they will: and headstrong wherein they commaund: besides that they go laden with thoughts, holding their persons in perill, escandalize their common wealth, accused to be ouer amarus of their owne proper iudgement, and moste great enemies of others counsell. The prince also ought very particularly vnderstand the thinges of the common wealth, if he wil vse good gouernement thereof. And this he hath to be aduertised, not of suche as goe to murmur, but of such as make iust report, and also giue counsel therein: for that
betwixt

twixt the Prince and the common wealth, there shall neuer be peace, if to hyars and murmurers be giue audience. Euen as Princes desire not in their subiectes, but to be serued: euen so their subiects desire not of their princes, but to be beloued, & most truly, the one is annexed vnto y other, and depēdeth each of other: for if in the Prince there be no loue, there is none that wil serue him with affection. Princes and great lordes, ought to holde in great estimation, that their subiectes do obey them: but much more haue the subiectes to make accompt, when their lordes do loue them: because, without comparison, his bountie is much greater that bindeth vs to loue, then the trauaile of him that offereth to serue. As loue is not repayed but with loue, so Princes are not to be satisfied with only giuing such as do serue and followe them, offices, castels, customes, houses and money: but also they ought to shewe them loue in their palaces, and fauour in their affaires: because, with their liberalitie, they recompence their seruice past: but with their loue they bind them to serue in time to come.

Princes and men of power, ought in their countenance to be amorous, in their speach milde, in their behauiours muche ordered: for that generous hartes, and blusshing and shamesfast faces, that followe courtes, and go in Princes houses, do muche more feelee the disfaueur whiche they shewe them, then the rewardes that they denye them. *To the ende that Princes be deliuered of displeasures: and their kingdomes better gouerned: it shalbe moste sound counsell for them to be affable with all, to giue vnto all, to deale for all, & to loue all: but if they determine to holde some more priuate, they ought much to consider whome they admit to their speciall fauour: because for one to be priuate in Court, it is not sufficient that the king doe choose him: but that also he be of merite and deserving.*

In giuing rewardes, princes may not alwayes escape error, but in commending their heartes, they ought to be most certaine: for that, *In this whole world there is not the like torment, as a man to haue his loue euill employed.* If Princes and great Lordes will particularly take into their fauour any of their seruants, they ought to be of particular deserving: bycause, loue shall neuer be fixed: when in him that is loued, there wanteth merite. Not without cause we sayde, that it were necessarie in a Prince to be indued with a good mynd and disposition, and with solind meaning and intention: bicause if the Prince be taken with imperfect and vnlawfull affection, Alas of him, and also of his kingdome, that by him is gouerned, It is euill that the Prince haue no rule in feeding, in play, in drinking, in speaking, and also in spending: but it is much worse if he vse it not in his loue and affection: for it is a rule infallible: that euerie disordinate loue, bringeth with it some notable vice. It is a loue disordinate to bee carefull to gather riches, and not to haue a mynde to spend them: bicause vnto the greatnesse of Princes it appertaineth, to seeke what to spend: and not to learne to keepe audit. It is a loue disordinate, for y prince to folow the direction of his owne proper will: bicause it is impossible but he should fayle to perfourme that which hee ought, that alwayes executeth his owne wilfull minde. Loue is disordinate, when the Prince employeth his loue in fewe, being Lord of many: bycause Princes in such wise ought to loue, and be bountifull vnto their priuate and fauoured seruants, that they disgrace not the nobles of their kingdome. Loue is disordinate, when Princes in vanities, and trifles do consume their times: bycause the curious gouernour

uernour in such wise diuiderh time betwixt him and the common wealth: that he neither wanteth for affaires, or hath too much to imploy in vices. Loue is disordinate, when the Prince is orgulous, quarellous, ambitious, and proude: for notwithstanding, that as a Prince they ought all to serue him: it followeth not that as a God, they shoulde adore him. Loue is disordinate, to hazarde the giuing and diuiding of rewardes, not as euerie man deserueth, but according to the wil of him that gouerneth: for there is no equal infamie vnto the prince, as it is to chastice vice, & not to remunerate seruice. Loue is disordinate, when of will he taketh away fro another, that of right apperteineth not vnto him self: bicause to y greatnes & sinceritie of princes, it is iust & conuenient, y in their rewardes & gifts, they shew their franke liberalitie: & in receiuing, they stande with all men in iustice. The case standeth thus: y the Prince which is indued with these loues & affections, may not escape many trauels, and also many souden assaults and perils: for y euerie disordinate affection, she her self, with her self, bringeth griefe and displeasure. Plutarcke in his bookes of comon welth, persuadeth the Emperour Traiane, that hee hath his will at libertie, and his loue subiect to no man: for that according as hee sayeth: It little profiteth that a Prince be Lord of many kingdomes: if on the other part, he become bondman to many vices. The diuine Plato saide, that for a prince to be good, hee ought to giue his heart vnto the common wealth, his rewardes vnto such as serue him, his desires vnto the Gods, and his loue vnto his friendes, his secretes to his priuie counsell: and the time to affaires. Oh how happy were that prince, that according to this Platonickall

A.iiii. sentence

sentence should diuide and repart his person : bicause he being diuided for all : the whole should be ioyned together, with, and for him.

¶ The authour applyeth all that which is sayd, vnto the end wherefore he did speake the same.

All that which we haue aboue sayde by writing, (most soueraigne Prince) wee will vtter and declare by example : for according to the saying of Eschines the Philosopher, Words well spoken, do awake and reuiue the iudgements : but great and manifest examples persuaide the heart. For to leade or intice a man to be vertuous, and to do vertuous woorkes, it maketh much to the matter, to persuaide with discrete reasons, & sweete words: but in conclusiō, for much credite which we giue to y^e which he sayth : much more is giue to that which he doth. The Poet Homer said :
 „ that it is, a thing verie easie to write acts of great pro-
 „ wesse, and verie difficil to performe them. For whiche
 „ cause it is necessarie, for such as deale with princes, to
 „ shewe them by example, all which they persuaide thē
 „ by writing : to the end they see most cleare, that the
 „ great and mightie deedes done by other Princes in the
 „ worldes : they want not force to performe them: but
 „ a minde to yndertake them. No Prince hath to holde
 „ of him selfe so small estimation, that he doubt to per-
 „ forme that which another Prince hath done in time
 „ past: for after this manner, Theodosius should be dis-
 „ maide, by the remembraunce of Seuerus : Seuerus, of
 „ Marcus Aurelius : Marcus Aurelius, of Antoninus
 „ Pius : Antoninus Pius, of Traiane: Traiane, of good
 „ Titus: Titus, of Cæsar Augustus: Cæsar Augustus, of
 „ Iulius Cæsar: Iulius Cæsar, of Scipio: Scipio, of Mar-
 „ cus Marcellus: Marcus Marcellus, of Quintus Fabius:
 „ Quintus

Quintus Fabius, of Alexander Magnus: and Alexander Magnus, of Achilles the Greeke. The heartes of these so high Princes, did not reade and inquire of the deedes of their forefathers, to feare them, but to imitate them: & surely they had great reason : bicause *None amongst the mortal hath done any deed so glorious, that by another man may not be beautified and made better.* Princes be bound to do such and so high deedes and enterprises, that of them selues be worthy praise, and very honourable for others to folow: for the same it is not more necessarie, to haue a noble minde to giue the enterprise: thē after wards to haue the aduenture, to finish the same. Plutarche saith, that Agefilaus the Greeke said, that *Fortune did neuer shew her selfe noble, but vnto a minde that was generous and noble :* and surely he said most truth, bicause *men lose many things, not bicause they may not attaine them, but for that, they dare not attempt them.* The Prince ought to straine and enforce him self to be good, and to imitate the vertuous: *since with lesse cost, mē be vertuous thē vicious, milde then ouerthwart: valiant then cowards: patient thē furious, and sober then gluttons :* for the theefe doth need as desperate a minde to scale an house, as a noble minde is due to a captein that foloweth the wars. Dionysius the tyrant, Gorgius the tyrant, Bias the tyrant, Macrino the tyrant, & Catiline the tyrant : if we might commend them, and they of thē selues giue reason : they would sweare and affirme that they passed more trauell, and found thē selues in more perill in defending their tyrannies, then Scipio and Cato in conseruing their common wealthes. Oh, what great reason, and how much occasion haue Princes to be good, and to fauour the good : since they haue authoritie to commaunde, and riches to giue : whereof if they haue skyll

to take the aduantage, with their potencie they frame them selues to be serued, and with their giftes they bring to passe to be loued. Ioyntly with this, I admonishe and also aduise Princes and great lordes, to be magnificent in their giftes, and verie attemptiue in their commaundements. For, notwithstanding, a Prince may do what he list: it is not conuenient he do what he may. Although the authoritie of the prince be free, absolute, and without measure: to him it is conuenient in all thinges to vse measure and moderation: for that euery gouernement that is absolute, hath a taste or relishe of tyrannie. Many Princes haue lost the selues by their vices which they vsed: and many more haue beene cast away by executing their will and power: for princes in performing all that they can, and all which they will: it followeth, that their affection maketh them stumble: & passion, their eyes to dazell. But (moste soueraigne Prince) speaking more particularly, by the imitation of Plutarcke, and Suetonius Tranquillus, I thought good to translate, compile, and to reforme the storie of the liues of tenne Romaine princes, worthie moste surely to be knowen, and verie pleasant to be read. The purpose wherefore (moste mightie Prince) I haue taken so exceeding trauaile to compounde this worke, is: vnto the ende my penne may aduertise, wherein my tongue with shame dismaieth to speake: for as Bias the philosopher saide: The authoritie of princes is so greate, that of more thinges they haue to giue them to vnderstand, then to dare or presume to speake. The king Artaxerxes trauailing on a certeine daye, a man of the countrie presented him with a little water in the palme of his hand: the

the which water, the king receiued and dranke: and when some did murmur of that deede, and also detract him: the king made aunswere: *It is no lesse noblenesse vnto the Prince to receiue little, then to giue greate and bountifull rewardes.* The philosopher Lycurgus, that was lawe giuer vnto the Lacedæmonians, commaunded those of his common wealthe, that they shoulde offer vnto their Gods fewe thinges in number, and not riche of value: whereof, when he was noted and also accused, made aunswere: I commaund not to offer vnto the Gods fewe thinges, for that I thinke them not to deserue muche, but because all men should haue wherewith to offer: since of all men they will be serued: for in the time of Apollo, they saide vnto mee: that they had rather haue little of manie, then much of fewe. In the lawe whiche God gaue vnto the Hebrues, he was so limited in the thinges he demaunded, and so humane in that he commaunded: that in the order of the sacrifices which they should offer, he did ordeine and comaund that the poore man whiche could not offer a goate, should offer no more but of the hayre therof. In considering that Lycurgus offered vnto his Gods, iewels of small price: and that king Artaxerxes receiued of a poore man an handfull of water: and that vnto the true and liuing God, they durst offer no more

but of the hayres of a Goate, giueth mee hardinesse to present this work vnto your
Maiestie.
(.)

The life of the good Emperour, Traiane

13

Coccius, naturally a Spaniard, borne in the citie
of Calize, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gucvara, By-
shoppe of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler,
and counsellour vnto the Emperour
Charles the fifth.

CHAP. I.

Of foure renoumed Cities that perished and
were subuerted in Spaine.

BEfore they had Emperours in Rome, ei-
ther warre was raised in Carthage, ther
were in foure prouinces in Spaine, foure
right notable cities, which in potencie
did matche with Rome, in riches with
Tyus, in beautie with Helia, & in opu-
lencie with Tarento. The firste was
Numantia: the seconde, Cantabria: the thirde, Ystobriga:
the fourth, Italica. Strabo, Isodore, and Pomponio Mela,
giue great admiration vnto the readers, of the great power,
richesse, and wealth of these foure cities. And on the other
part, it is great pitie to consider, that there is nothing of
them remayning to beholde. Not without cause it is saide,
that nothing remaineth in them to be seene: because notwithstanding
the prouince, boundes, and climate is knowne of
the foundation thereof: yet we may hardly attaine to name
the verie place where it was built. Vnto the citie of Nu-
mantia, Soria succeeded: vnto the citie of Cantabria, succeeded
Tudela of Nauarre: vnto the citie of Ystobriga, succeeded
Merida: vnto the citie of Italica, succeeded Ciuit. The situ-
ation of the famous Numantia, as some men affirme, was
vpon a certeine hill neare vnto Soria on the other side of the
bidge: and as others doe thinke, her foundation stode in
Garray a village of Soria ioyning vnto Duero. The situa-
tion of Cantabria, was a league from the citie of the Groine,
and

and on that side of Ebro, vpon a certeine height tohere nowe are planted many vines. The seate of Ystobriga was, where nowe the ventres of Caparra, being bayting places, stand: and others say, yt was on the hill that standeth betwixt the two riuers Las varcas de Alconeta, yel casare de carceres. The situation of Italica was ioyning vnto the citie of Ciuil: and some saye it was vpon the way to Carmona: and that the arches of Carmona were made to furnishe the citie of Italica. O secrete iudgements of the moste high, or humaine instabilitie, that all these places being viewed personallly of my selfe, where these so excellent cities were buylt, I found not so muche as a towre, a wall, a stræte, or a house to beholde: neither so much as a stone almost to stumble at. We haue great reason to exclaime, and much moze hath the discrete reader to wonder: since we vnderstand that fourteene yeres Numantia resisted the power of the Romaines: and now we see it made a pasture for sheepe. We vnderstande that Cantabria was the last thing whiche the Romaines did subdue in Spaine: and nowe there remaineth but a pæche of vineyardes in the same. We certainly knowe that the greatest strength which king Viriato held in Spaine, was Ystobriga: and nowe there remaineth not but certeine gromes trees & shrubbes. They which write of the citie of Italica, do saye: that it was the most strong and the most esteemed of all the kingdome of Vandalia: and nowe they gather both wheat and barley in the same. Scipio the Africane destroyed the citie of Numantia, because in his first Punicke battels, they would not helpe the Romaines. Gracchus a Romaine captaine, subuerted the citie of Ystobriga, because from thence Viriato made him warre. Pompeius hoste destroyed the citie of Italica: for that in the parcialitie of Iulius Caesar they were most faithfull. The Emperour Augustus ouerthrewe the citie of Cantabria, as a man moze moued with pze, then directed by reason. The case was thus: that as he had the citie besieged and brought in great distresse, he sent to require of the citizens, to yelde him all their treasure: and giue vnto Rome perpetuall tribute. The Cantabrians considering, what the Emperour de-

maun

maunded: answered in a letter after this manner.

Emperour Augustus, we pray the immortall Gods to receiue thee into their defence, and that it may please them to examine betwixt thee and vs, who in this warre hath more iustice: and thou knowest, O immortall Prince, that men, although they haue power to take warre in hande, it is not in their handes, but in the Gods to obtaine victorie: because we men begin many thinges with malice, the which afterwards, the Gods do finish by iustice: with thy exceeding potencie it may not be denied, but that thou hast brought this sorrowfull citie into great distresse: in such wise that we haue neither bread to eate, either water to drinke, either skinnes to make gariments, or corke to make shooes, neither towers to couer vs: but ioyntly with this, thou hast vnderstande, that if wee want armour wherewith to fight: wee lacke not heartes to abide death. It wel appeareth that thou hast made experience of our weake forces, and vnderstandest not the greatnesse of our mirides: since thou demaundest the treasure of our houses, and the libertie of our persons. The mynes that wee haue, be not of Golde to serue thee, but of yron, to breake thy pride. Doth it not seeme to thee, O Emperour Augustus, that since you Romaines haue fought foure hundreth yeres in straunge countries to be lordes, it were great reason for vs to fight in our owne houses, to escape bondage? Prosecute thy warres, and do according to the vse of other captaines of Rome, and care not to threaten vs, and muche lesse to flatter vs: for notwithstanding our countrie & houses be thine by force, neuer whiles we haue life shall wee be, but the Gods and our owne.

This answer being hearde by the Emperour Augustus, he did sweare by the immortall Gods, to take none of them to mercie, either to leaue in the citie one stone vpon another. And as he promised, so he accomplished. I would saye in this case, that if it were euill to sweare, it was muche woozse to perfourme the same. Although it be an auncient custome, the worde of a king to be kepte inuiolable: for the good prince ought not to put in effect, that which he hath sworne in his yre.

CHAP.



Prosecuting our intent, it is to vnderstand that in the dayes when warre was extremely kindled betwixt Iulius Caesar & Pompeius, the Pompeians helde Ystobriga, which now is named Lebrixa: and the Caesarians helde Gades, whiche now is named Calize: these two cities did serue to gather their banished; to succour their allies, and their wounded. Before the citie of Italica was destroyed by the Pompeians, there did flourish two famous knights: the one was named Iulius Cocceius, & the other, Rufus Vlpianus: and these two knights, were not onely Captaines at armes, but also were chiefe of those two linages, that is to saye, of the Cocceians and of the Vlpianians. Before that cruell warres entred the citie of Italica, these two linages had alwayes betwixt them greate contention: but after warres began, they ioyned in great friendship: for that it hapneth many times, that hartes which may not ioine by loue, do after consent and agree by feare. The citie of Italica being destroyed, these two knights came to liue at Gades, which now is named Calize: the one of them that was named Cocceius, was graundfather to the Emperour Nerua: and the other which was named Rufus Vlpianus, was great graundfather of the Emperour Traiane, and of the Emperour Adrian by the mothers side. The Emperour Traiane was borne in the citie of Calize the xxi. of Maye, in the seconde yere of the Empire of Nero, Rufus and Catinus being consuls. In those times there was not in all Europe, so famous, so generous, either yet so profitable a studie, as that of the citie of Calize: because from Africa they repayed to studie: and from Grecia came to learne. And to the ende it shall not seeme a fable, let them reade Plutarcke in the life of Traiane, Philon in the booke of Schooles, and Philostrato

in the life of Apollonius. In that citie of Calize, vntill the age of xv. Traiane studied the Greeke tongue, the Latine, & Rhetorike. Traiane was high of body, somewhat blacke of face, thinne of haire, thicke of beard, a crooked nose, bigge shoulders, large handes, and his eyes, in beholding, augurous. Traiane entring the yeares of xvi. left his studie, and did exercise armes: wherein he was no lesse towarde then valiaunt. Traiane was of great swiftnesse on foote, and of great readinesse on horsebacke: in such wise that it is sayde of him, he was neuer throlone, or had fall fro his horse: or euer was ouerrun on foote. There chaunced a certeine flete of pyrates to arrive at Calize, the which being many, and taking the citizens at vnwares: the good yong man Traiane, did shew him selfe that day so valiaunt in fight, and so venturous in conquest, that to him alone they did attribut the libertie of their countrie, and the glozy of the victorie. Amongst the Myrmidons, whiche be they of Merida, and amongst the Ricinians, which be they of Truxillio, there was raised in those dayes a certaine little warre for the pastures of Gaudiano: for that the Myrmidons did say, they had held them time out of mind: they of Truxillio aduouched, that they had lost them, and had receiued of them assistance to win them of the enimies. The Myrmidons did craue succour of them of Calize, in respect of their confederation: the Gauditaines did accept the embassage of the Myrmidons, as concerning their succour, and when they had chosen Traiane for capteine of their armie: he made answer: The destinies neuer permit, either the gods euer commaund, that I take a sword to shed the bloud of mine owne countrie: bicause if the one be our friends, truly the other be not our enimies. And said more, Since the warre is not begun, and the cause of their debate may be discussed by iustice, it is my opinion, rather to sende them embassadours to bring them friends: then captaines to attempt wars. Conformable vnto all men, Traianes answer was, both giuen and accepted: the which from thence forward, was holden & esteemed for a knight of great valiantnesse:

and for a man of great wisdom and judgement. These two virtues goe not alwayes by couples: that is to say, valiantnesse and wisdom: because, there be some men that be doutie to take perils in hand, & be not wise to escape them.

CHAP. III.

Howe Traiane passed out of Spaine being a yong man, to goe into Italie.

In the second yeare of the Empire of the good Vespasian, great Britaine rebelled which is now named England against the Romaine Emperour: vnto which warrs Traiane repaired, and this he did without charges to the Romaines, and for him self to obtaine fame accompanied with many others of his countrie: In those warres Drusus Torquatus was capteine for the Romaines: who persuaading Traiane to take wages of the Romaine people, as all others did in that warres: Traiane answered. The merchaunts that come from thence hither, they repaire to be more rich, but we Gentlemen not to be richer, but more honoured. The same that Iugurth obtained in the warres of Numantia, that same Traiane obtained in the warres of Britaine: in that the one and the other were knights of straunge countries, and yong venturours, and also fortunate: because for their powers and noble deedes, whiche they atchieued in those warrs: Iugurth was king of Numidia, and the good Traiane came to be Emperour of Rome. That daye whiche Drusus Torquatus entered Rome, triumphing of the Britaines, being accompanied not onely with knightes subdued, but also with knightes and noble men that had ouercome: all the Romaines did inquire for Traiane to see him and knowe him, for that his fame was notorious vnto all men, but his person in Rome to verie fewe knowne. And hereof it proceeded in processe of time, when Traiane, and Marius Fabritius, did contend for the Consulship of Germanie: Fabritius taunted Traiane, to be a straunger borne, and disgraced in the feature of his body, vnto whom Traiane made answer: I confesse vnto thee Marius Fabritius, that thy good face was knowne in Rome,

Rome, before thy euill life: but thou canst not denie, that in Rome they did not knowe mine honest life, before my euill face. At the first when Traiane came to Rome, Titus, sonne to Vespasian the Emperour, placed him Pretour of ten legions: and sent him to the frontiers of Illyria: where he remained all the life of Titus. The Romaine legions did not a little murmur to haue Traiane for their capteine: affirming that in age he was a childe, & in nation a straunger: but after when they found him so valiant in fighting, & so wise in gouernment, they loued him as a father, & obeyed him as a captein. And as in winter Traiane wanted victuals, for that he had taken truce with the Barbarians: a certaine gentleman sayd vnto him: it is not conuenient thou shouldest be so sad, or that we shoulde suffer so great penurie: take in good part, that by dissimulation we break the truce, by which meane we shal prouide for our selues, and our cattel. The good Traiane answered: I am not only griued with that thou speakest, but also despited with y^e presumest to say: for those matters which we set downe by promise, we haue not so great cause to obserue our fidelitie made vnto men: as for that we haue swozne by y^e immortal Gods. And y^e Emperour Titus being dead, his brother Domitian did succede him in the Empire: which whē Traiane vnderstood, presently he left the charge of frontier capteinship of Illyria. The emperour Domitian was not a little griued, & the whole armie, as also all the Senate, y^e Traiane had forsake y^e frontiers of Illyria: for that in matters of warre he had great experience, & no lesse fortune. The Romaines did vse great vigilancie, in seeking and conseruing fortunate capteines: with whom they did dissemble & suffer more defections, then with al other persons: and this they did, because there be many capteines, that if they be expert in armes, they be moste vnfortunate in the execution thereof.

Traiane remaining in Rome, without all disposition to take charge of an armie: y^e emperour Domitian sayd vnto him: tell me Traiane, is it doubtful that my empire is lesse

then that which my father Vespasian helde : or that I am more ingrate then my brother Titus was : that for them thou shouldst euerie day aduenture thy life, and for my service thou dainest to take a lance in hande : Traiane did answer him : I confesse that thy power is as great as thy fathers, and thy knowledge no lesse then thy brothers : but ioynly with this, thou arte verie souden in thy commaundements, and very swift in the execution thereof : and it may be, that hauing charge of thy armies, I might be commaunded to doe some thing : the accomplishment whereof, might stand muche against all bountie : and not perfourning the same, I should breake the oth of fidelitie, that I haue made vnto thee.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the friendship and parentage that Traiane had with the Emperour Nerua.

In those dayes there was a certaine Consul named Nerua Coccius, banished out of Rome by the Emperour Domitian, a man in yeares very auncient, and in all that he eyther sayde, or did, of great credite. As Traiane was at that time in the disgrace of the Emperour Domitian, from Rome he departed vnto Nola, a certain place where Nerua was in Campania : because It is a thing very common vnto a man afflicted, to seeke the companie of an other in like trouble. These two right excellent men, whiche is to say, Nerua and Traiane, remained there long time in Campania, peace, banished, persecuted, & out of fauour : abiding the time when Domitian should send to kill the, or when they should heare that he were dead : because if they desired his death, no lesse did he seeke occasiō to take away their liues. Traiane, for that he was young, helde Nerua who was olde in great veneration: and Nerua did beare a great affectiō vnto Traiane, that he did loue him & vse him as his seruie: for that Traiane besides his sufficiency & ableness for all causes, was in his conuersation most amorous. Nerua and Traiane remaining in that banishment, found them

them selues of neare kinred and affinitie : that is to say, of one countrie, which was Spaine, of one place, which was Italica, and that the one descended of the Cocceians, and the other of the Vlprians, two famous and auncient linages : of whome we haue aboue made mention. When Traiane passed into Italie, he found no other paréage, but Nerua and Vlpian Ricinius his vncle: which was two times Consul in Rome. Some say that this Vlpian Ricinius, was father vnto Traiane : but the truth is, that he was but his vncle : for Plutarke in an Epistle that he writeth vnto Traiane, sayth: The good newes in Rome being knowne, howe thou hast overcome king Decebal, which did tyrannize this lande : so great was the ioy which the people did receiue, that as thy fathers bones be in Spaine, they had bene here in Italie : they would do no lesse honour vnto them in the sepulchre, then they shall yealde vnto thee on that day, when thou shalt enter triumphing into Rome. And for that Nerua was so auncient and so honourable, and Traiane so valiaunt and so wel liked, many Romaines did come and goe betwene Rome and Campania to see them : and this was done more secretly then publikely, because the Emperour Domitian was verie suspicious : being most true, Verie fewe dare serue or followe such as princes do hate. Amongest all other that went from Rome vnto Campania to see these two knights, was the great Philosopher Plutarke: who with Traiane, and Traiane with him, did plante so perfect and sounde friendship, that onely death was able to giue ende to the same. And as Plutarke saue suche abilitie and will in Traiane to learne, & ioynly with this there was no wars wherein to be exercised, he was so drunken with learning, that he did abhorre armes : vpon which occasion Nerua saide in iest : By my counsel thou shalt leaue bookes, and returne to armes, since thou hast better handes to fight, then a tong to dispute : for that it is not iust thou shouldst cease to be singular amongest capteines, to be indifferent among Philosophers. Traiane remainyng there in

B.iii. Campania,

Campania, did marrie with Plotina, which was his onely wife : and is sayde only, for that befoze nor after did euer marrie other : the which vertue until his time was found in no Romaine prince : for that by growing olde or misliking of the one, presently they did take another. And as on a day certaine Romaines practised by secreete deuite to kil the Emperour Domitian : and in great secrecie, gaue part therof vnto Traiane, did answere : I do well see that Domitian deserued not to be elected Emperour, & much lesse deserueth to be sustained in the same : yet neuer the more shal I consent vnto his death : for that I will rather suffer a tyrant, then recouer the renowne of a traitour. Many Romaines on a time murmuring of the insolencies of the Emperour Domitian, Traiane sayde vnto them : The intention wherewith Domitian hath intreated me, the Gods haue to iudge : for of his woorks which he hath done, I may not complaine, since he hath bene the occasion that I haue recovered Nerua for my father, Plutarcke for my maister, & Plotina for my wife ; and aboue al the rest, he brought me acquainted with aduerse fortune : for that afore I presumed of nothing but to commaund : but now only to serue. A yeare befoze Domitian died, or to say better, befoze they had slaine him, he went to the wars in Germanie : and in that yeare Traiane was elected Consul, in the Senate of Rome. It was no final grieue vnto Traiane to accept that Consulship : not for that he liked not to be lincked with the friendship of honour : but for the grieue whiche he felt to leaue the companie of Nerua,

CHAP. V.

Howe Nerua was made Emperour, and adopted Traiane his sonne.

The

The Romans not able to indure the iniuries and tyrannies of Domitian, determined to kil him, the which out of hande they did perforce : the xiii. of October, in the fourtie fiftie yeare of his age, when he had reigned xv. yeares. In many a day the Romaine people had not receiued so ioyful newes, as y newes of the death of Domitian : in such maner, that they gaue rich rewards vnto curreys & postes that brought the same, and made great ioy in the countries where they passed : for that they did as muche desire his death, as they did abhorre his life. Petronius capteine of the guarde, and Partenius his chamberleine, were the men that practised the death, and also violated the life of Domitian : and they them selues gaue order, that Nerua presently should be elected Emperour. The Romaines did so extremely hate Domitian, that not contented to see him deade, & to hale his bodie pæcemeale trayling thzough the streates of Rome, al his pictures and counterfets they did spoyle and take away, all his arches and titles they did raze out, all his edifices whiche he had built they ouerthzewe, all wzittings which he had firmed they burnt, and all that were named Domitians were banished, in suche wise, that they could neyther indure to see him aliue, nei ther heare him named after his death. The day after the death of Domitian, Nerua Cocceius was declared Emperour : and of his election all the Romaine people were much pleased : the one cause, for that he was so vertuous, and the other, because he was an enimie vnto Domitian. Presently that Nerua was elected Emperour, presently he sent Traiane as Pretour into Germanie, to the end he should take into his power, the legions and gouernement of that prouince : on the one parte, for that Traiane was liked, and muche desired of all the men of warre : and the other for that Calphurnius capteine vnto Domitian was holden somewhat suspected.

Amongest other euill conditions wherewith the Emperour Domitian was possessed, was : that all thinges which seemed vnto him good, riche, or faire, he dyd much
B. iiii. praise

praise it, and therof they had to consider for most certaine, that all whiche he praised, freely they had to present the same: for if other wise, incontinently he took it by force. Of these like things Nerua found in his palace, much goods of other mens: whiche by publike proclamation were all restozed vnto the owners: In suche wise, that this good prince wold not only not take frō other men, but also make restitution of y^e which by his predecessours had bin robbed. When Nerua was elected Emperour, he was exceeding olde, and of infirmities much persecuted: for in him there was nothing sound but his tounge wherewith he did talke, and his good iudgement wherewith he did gouerne. The Romaines beholding Nerua so olde, and sickly, complaining that he coulde not sleepe, and that for weaknesse of stomach, he durst eate but of verie fewe things: they helde it for most certaine, that his life was verie short, and with this motion they beganne to holde him in smal estimation. Considered by Nerua, that he had not long to liue, and that the Romaines did not esteeme him: he remembzed to adopt Traiane as his sonne, and to accept him for companion in the Empire: and so it came to passe, that presently he sent him the imperiall ensigne, which was a certaine manner of cape with a hooe, and with the same he wrote him a letter, wherein were written no other wordes but these: *Phoebe tuis telis, lachrimas vlciscere nostras.* As if he shuld say: Noble Traiane, thou shalt haue charge with thy venturous armes to reuenge my sorrowfull teares. For the disobedience which the Romaines committed against his commaundements, and the want of reuerence they helde of his person, Nerua of Traiane craved that reuengement, because it is a thing much vsed amongst men persecuted & afflicted, that the iniuries which they may not reuenge with their handes, they bewaile with their eyes. In the time that this did passe, Traiane was in Almane, in the cite of Agrippina, which now is called Coleine, and the night before that he receiued the imperiall ensigne, and the letter from the Emperour Nerua, he dreamed that he was

was inuested with a purple garment, and a ring put on his right hand, and crowned with a certaine crowne. Only three monethes and five dayes did passe after Traiane was elected Emperour, vnto the death of Nerua: who dyed in the age an hundred tenne yeares, ten monethes, and tenne dayes.

THE VI. CHAP.

Of the lawes that Traiane made, to the profite of the common wealth.

AT the instant in which Traiane vnderstode, that the Emperour Nerua was deade, he departed vnto Rome: where at his coming he did celebrate the obsequies of his Lozde and friend Nerua: and they were suche and so riche, that it seemed rather feastes for the liuing, then honours for the dead: because there was nothing in them y^e moued sadnesse, but to see Traiane goe verie sad. The first thing that Traiane sayd, promised, & swore in the Senate, was: that no man that was good and peaceable, by his commaundement or consent, should be put to death: which he obserued, al y^e daies of his Empire. After this he commanded Emilia to be sent for, which was captaine of the Pretorian armies: whom he commaunded to be discharged of his office, and to be banished the Empire: the one cause, for that he had disobeyed the emperour Nerua: and the other cause, for that he had imbezeled the payes of the men of warre. He commaunded publike proclamation to be made, that all men that had iust cause to complaine of the Consuls, of the Senatours, of the Judges, or other officers of Rome, that they shoulde come forth and declare: for that he wished satisfaction vnto the one, and correction vnto the other. Personally Traiane did visite all offices of Rome: which is to vnderstande, where they solde beere, where they weighed flesh, where they measured wine, where the merchaunts dwelt, where straungers did lodge, and so of al

other offices: among which, he allowed all that was good, and gave reformation vnto all that was euill. He forbade the vse of shops or tauerne in Rome, that is to say: that they should not sell bread, wine, and fleshe dressed in one house: affirming, that prepared vices, is the occasion to make many vicious. He commaunded all the neighbours of Rome to be registred: and there was found 285000 houses of married men, and 42000 young men to be married, 7000 priestes of the temples, 32000 common women, 12000 houses de mesones, and 65000 straunger factours. He forbade any poore man to goe from doore to doore, but that all which were impotent, should be succoured of the common treasure: and vnto such as could traueile, they gaue them wherewith to worke from the Senate. He commaunded all Juglars and Jesters to learne some occupation, and to mainteine them selues in their owne houses: and otherwise to be banished Rome. Traiane commaunded reformation in all estates, and caused examination to be taken of all students: and they were more without comparison that were banished for vnable and vicious, then remained for learned and vertuous. For that in Rome there were people of many straunge countries, toynly there with so many women, of which many did perishe in childbed: and many children died for want of place to breaste them: For which purpose the good Traiane did cause to be buyt a famous house in the mount Celius, and indued the same very well with his owne patrimonie: where all women that would, were kepte and brought abedde by the space of two monethes: and that all the children vntill the age of foure yeres were there brought vp and nourished. Traiane consented not, that in all the yere they should obserue in Rome but xxii. holydayes: saying, that without comparison, the Gods were more serued on such dayes as the Romaines did traueile, then on such dayes as they rested: because the vices were more which they did commit, then the sacrifices which they did offer. Traiane did moderate the sacrifices that were offered vnto the Gods, that

is to say, neither to haue so many, nor yet so sumptuous: saying, that the Gods would rather we should amend our liues, then offer our goods. Vnto the priestes of the temple he commaunded to be giuen oyle, vnto the bestall virgins wheate, vnto the olde hoysenmen cloth for garments, vnto the poore wood to burne, vnto Embassadours wine to drinke: for that all these things were not euely in Rome verie deare to be bought: but also not at all times to be had for money.

CHAP. VII.

Of the noble and notable vertues that were in Traiane.

THE yere that Traiane came to Rome to be Emperour, he was of xlii. yeres, in which age, he had in all thinges such successe, and did vse such moderation, that neither by his youth did hazarde the attempt of any foolish deed: either by stoutfulness of old age, did leaue any thing euil provided. Traiane was a Prince, in whose wordes & workes cruie was neuer knowne: and as on a certeine time the Philosopher Plutarcke did commend him for the same, Traiane saide vnto him: Plutarcke, I giue thee to vnderstand, that of pure pride, I am not enuious: for that alwayes I thought my selfe happie, to enterprise suche, so greate, and so notable deedes, that all men should enuie mee for the thinges I should take in hand: and my selfe to mislike no man for any his noble attempts. Traiane was not malicious, either suspicious, although by nature he were of sharpe iudgement: which hapneth in few persons, for y commonly, men of sharpe iudgement, be not alwayes of sound condition. And as great affaires naturally bring with them great thoughtes and displeasures: although vnto Traiane they gaue some griefe, he was neuer seene of man to be angry, because olde wisdom had more Lordship in him, then soueraine yre. Although Traiane hadde manie that did wishe him euill, and procure

procure him euill: some for malice, some for enuie, and some bycause he did chastice them. He was neuer found that vtterly did seeke his destruction: but that in chastising the quarreller and vicious, they moze commended him for his clemencie, then complained or murmured for their griefe and punishment. Although Traiane were not much learned, he was mozte truely a greate friende vnto learned men: whome he did promote vnto honours and to estates, and did much ioy to holde them for his friendes: in suche wise, that in his house and court, a learned man was neuer seene in necessitie. Traiane did much desire to vnderstande the ambitions of Rome, and disorders of his house: but ioyntly therewith he woulde not be aduertised by the manner of murmuring, but rather by the way of aduice. Traiane was a great enimie of liars, & no lesse of de tractours: for which cause they say, & many times he sayde: It is more safe vnto princes, to haue patiēce to heare their own errours, then to giue care vnto such as reporte other mens defections: and sayde moze. What of necessitie the Prince must haue bloudie hands, that giueth care to murderers. Traiane wated & general vice which vsually reig- neth in all men, which is couetousnesse, wherof he was not either accused or noted: but rather of great bountie & larges, he was of all nations well liked & commended, because they were infinite that did praise him, for that which they had receiued, and no man did complaine for that which he had taken. Traiane naturally did delight in warres, and after they were begunne, verie diligent in prosecuting, and most constant in finishing the same. Albeit he was giue vnto warres, yet therfore he ceased not to procure by al meanes to conserue peace: for as he said, The Gods neuer permitted that any should be ouercome in the wars, but such as be enimies vnto peace. Traiane was verie moderate in the ordinarie expēces of his house: & ioyntly with this, most liberall in causes of war: and most certainly in the same he shewed him self to be a prince skilful, prouident & wise: for as Plato sayde, If the expences of the common wealth be

be not moderated, afterwarde ye shall not faile, to want wherewith to withstand the enimies.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ Of the proude and stately buildinges which Traiane made.

Traiane made in Rome many & very notable buyldings: it is to vnderstande, a great and sumptuous market place, and all the things that were in the compasse thereof. He made a paved calley, being a broad high waye that lasted two leagues and halfe, whereon they might come & go in Summer without dust, and in Winter without mire. He made a temple vnto the God Apollo, another vnto the god Mars, another vnto the god Iupiter, another vnto the god Esculapius, another vnto the goddesse Ceres, another vnto the goddesse Bellona, another vnto the mother Berecynthia, whome the Romaines named the mother of all the Gods. He repaired the decayed walles, he made tenne paire of milles vpon barkes on the riuer of Tyber, in which he commaunded that the priestes, the vestall virgins, and the olde knightes shoulde first grinde and be serued. He did repaire and inlarge the colledge, and placed gates, porters, and watchemen, and many counterfetes and pictures of golde and siluer: and did vse for custome as oft as he came thither, to be the first that entered, and the last that went forth. He buylt in all streetes in Rome publique purging places, and commanded vpon great & grievous penalties, that no man should be so hardie to defile the streetes, or other open places: in such manner, that all the dayes of Traiane, Rome did not seeme, but as a hall cleane swept. In the fourth region ioyning vnto the temple of Serapis, Traiane did buyld most sumptuous baynes, much larger then those which Titus made, and much richer then those which Tyberius buylt. Also Traiane buylt an hundred houses large and strong, wher

in to kill and sell their beefe and mutton. In the gardenes of Vulcane, Traiane did buyld an house of pleasure, and made therein a certein fishepoule for belight: but it is not found or recorde, that he did either eate or sleepe in the same. Neare vnto the houses of the Fabians, he brought from farre a founteine, in the compasse whereof he erected a stately house, naming it the place of Datia, Traiane naturally, was a friend not onely of buylding, but also to beholde buyldings and worke men: whiche is most certainly knownen, in that he made a lawe: that all such men as should raise any newe buyldings in Rome, the thirde parte of the charges shoulde be payde from the common treasure. It was a marueilous matter, that in all these & many other buyldings which Traiane made in Rome, he vsed no other mennes money, he constrained no man to trauaile by force, he deferred no man of payement, for he saide and helde opinion, that it were more honest and also more sure vnto Princes, to dwell in poore lodgings: then of other mennes sweat to make rich houses.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Of some vices whereof Traiane was noted.

Traiane wanted not some humane infirmities, where in men at times do fall: for, if with reason he were praised for many things: not without occasion in some causes he was iustly discommended. Vntill this daye there hath bene no Prince in whome all vertues did concur, either in whome all vices were founde: bycause, there is no man such an outcast, in whome there is not to be found somewhat to be praised: either any man of life so reformed, that in him there is not somewhat to be amended.

Traiane

Traiane naturally was proude and ambitious of honour: and after a manner he did delight, that in open place they should erecte vnto him pictures and counterfetes of golde, and that his fame might be sprede throughout the worlde. In all his erected buyldings he placed the titles of his triumphes, and perswaded the Oratours to compounde many metres to his praise, whiche he made to be grauen in stone in the best front of his buyldings. In the vice of the fleshe, Traiane was not a little fleshy: and yet in this case it is moste true, that he neuer vsed force to any person: but ioyntly therewith, being moste diligent in persuasion, and verie liberall in giuing: he fixed his amorous affection vpon no person, that he inioyed not. In his garmentes, and in the manner of the fashion and wearing thereof, Traiane was most curious and costly: by cause there was no daye, that either of Golde, siluer, or silke, he did not on his person vse some chaunge.

As we haue saide, Traiane was a Prince both wise, and of sharpe and readie iudgement: but ioyntly therewith, muche affectionate vnto his owne opinion: whereof cares many times did followe and persecute him: by cause, there is not, hath bene, or shalbe Prince in this worlde, so wise, that necessitie constraineth not, at times, to chaunge counsell.

Traiane was a verie friende vnto wise men, but he him selfe was not muche learned: whereof being reproued by his friende and Philosopher Plutarke: Traiane saide vnto him: the Gods haue not created mee to turne ouer bookes, but to deale with armour. When Traiane had vacant time from warres, he did muche delight to take his pleasure in vaine thinges, wherein he consumed many nightes and dayes, and of this vice he was not a little noted, and also accused: and doubtlesse not without great cause: for that Princes which presume to bee good Princes, in suche wise ought to take their pastime, that they seeme not to lose their time. Notwithstanding that Traiane deliuered Rome of many vices,

and

and banished from thence many that were vicious: he was noted and also blamed, that he defended and sustained the sworde players, who were men yble and seditious, and this he did, because in his youth they had bene his friends, and delighted in them: wherein he had lesse reason, for that it is not iust, that Princes take suche recreation for their persons, as tendeth to the preiudice of the comon wealth. Traiane was verie moderate in feeding, but ioyntly therewith, not ouer sober in drinking: for that to obtaine good wine, he was somewhat curious and carefull, and in the drinking thereof, not verie temperate. Notwithstanding, that sometimes he drank somewhat more then was convenient for the health of his bodie, and to the authoritie of his person: yet, at that time, neuer man sawe him comitt or procure any vile dede.

CHAP. X.

¶ Of the first warres that Traiane had against the Datians.

In the xliiij. yere of his age, and in the second of his Empire, Traiane receiued newes, that Decebal king of Datia, which in these dayes is named Denmarke, rebelled against the Romaine Empire: the which newes gaue no small skandal and offence vnto the Senate: for that on the one part naturally they were a nation very warlike: and on the other parte, for that king Decebal was a prince of great vniquietnesse, and also of a minde determined. For that the Emperour Domitian was a greater friend vnto vices, then an enimie vnto eninies: in all his reigne, king Decebal did neuer yeald obedience vnto the Romaine Empire: whereby the Datians had recovered great boldnesse, and the Romaines lost their credite.

Traiane, in his owne person determined to go in those warres: for which purpose he made choise of a verie small armie, and yet of much strength: for he helde opinion, that

that, as no other meates should be brought vnto the table, then are to be eaten: so they ought not to leade vnto the warres, but such as must fight: and saide further: by experience I haue proued, as well in eating, as in fighting, that many meates at table be lothsome: and in the warres many men be troublesome. King Decebal being aduertised, that Traiane removed from Rome to make conquest of him and his countrie, determined to marche and encounter with him vpon the waye: and as he purposed so he perfourmed: for he helde the Romaines in so small estimation, that he counted it shame to be beseged of them. And when the armies were in sight one of another, the Barbarians being so manie, & the Romaines so fewe: they did not a litle persuaade Traiane, to take peace, or to make some honest truce, and without peril to return to Rome. Traiane to this made aunswer: our weakenesse should be great, and with great reason they would blame vs in Rome, if so soudely we should cease to make warre, without first making prouise, to what ende their forces do extende, and also vnderstande what our destinies do containe: bycause it may be, that if their power be great, our fortune may be much greater. King Decebal had taken & fortified all the dangerous passages, and broken all bridges, barks, & botes of all the riuers, and had taken & spoiled all the victuals where the Romaines should passe: and all these thinges were occasions to increase trauaile vnto Traiane, but not of power sufficient to remove his enterprise: for that Traiane was of so balliant a minde, that where he sawe fortune most doubtfull, from thence he did hope of victorie most certaine. Traiane did take & possesse the height of the rockes and mountaines, and thereon with all his armie did trauaile many nights and dayes: & king Decebal did neuer conceiue that Traiane would trauaile by those thornie mountaines: for that he thought it impossible for men to trauaile where beastes could not escape. King Decebal was constrained to returne vnto the plaine countrie, and to fortifie him selfe in strong cities, &

to this ende Traiane did purpose not to fight in mountaine that be daungerous, but in fieldes that be plaine: for he saide, that they came not to fight with the mountaines, whiche bred brute beastes: but to tame cities which sitte in seditious men. In very short space Traiane had taken fine cities, seven castels, and many prisoners: among which Mirto was taken, being vncke, tutour, and captain of king Decebal: a man of greafe grauitie and of no lesse authoritie. Traiane was so rigorous with them that did resist him and so pitifull vnto such as did yelde them, that some for loue, and others for feare, began secretly to practise throughout the kingdome, totally to yeald them selues vnto Traiane: because they sawe euery day Traians force to increase, and the power of king Decebal to decay and growe very weake. Traiane besieging a certaine citie named Myrtha, holding the captaine therof in great distresse, king Decebal forgate not to sende him reliefe & succour of great power: against whome Lucius Metellus, a captaine of Traianes did march and aduance him selfe who at that instant fought so valiantly and manlike, that he left not of all the enemies one onely person, that was not either taken or slaine. And as in that battaile many Romaines were slaine, and many more wounded, lacking clothes to binde vp their woundes, Traiane tare his owne shirt to supply their want in that behalfe. Being knowne within the citie, howe their succour was discomfited, and howe Traiane, to cure his wounded had rent his own shirt, they did feare the victorie, and were amazed at a worke of so great clemencie, and bothe these things were not a litle preiudiciall vnto king Decebal, chiefly for that he was proude and disdainefull: for the good Traiane, if with his engins he ouerthrewe their castels, with y same of his good workes, he did robbe and steale the mindes of his armie.

The citie of Myrtha being taken and rendred into the handes of Romaines, presently king Decebal sent Ambassadors vnto Traiane, aduertising that he woulde

become subiect vnto the Romaine Empire: vpon suche condition, that the thinges whereon they shoulde capitulate, were reasonable, and suche thinges as they shoulde commaunde to be perfourmable: for other wise, he and his were determined rather to dye with libertie, then to liue in bondage. The conditions that Traiane sent to demaund were these.

That he should leaue all armour, disauncpe his armie, subuert his castels, yelde his engines, restoze that which was robbed, become a friende vnto the friendes, and an enemye vnto the enemies of the Senate, render suche captaines as came to his succour, and giue 1000000 pendants of golde to paye the armie, and giue one of his sonnes in pledge for suretie of all promises. All these conditions king Decebal was contented to sweare and obserue: except the rendering of the captaines which came in his fauour to succour him: saying that so vile a dede did not agree with the clemencie of Traiane to demaunde it: neither vnto his roiall fidelitie to graunt it: for that he yel ded him selfe and his countrey, but to preserve the life of his friendes and allies. King Decebal came vnto the presence of Traiane, and kneeling vpon the grounde, did take off the crowne from his head and kissed the knee and the hand of Traiane: the which lifting him from the grounde and againe placing the crowne vpon his head: saide vnto him: I admitt thee to kisse my knee for the rebellion which thou hast committed, and I gaue thee my hande to kisse for the vassalage whiche thou owest mee: nowe I giue thee place to sitt by mee as a friend: I returne thy crowne vnto thee, as vnto a king: and therefore, learne to vnderstande thy faulte past, and to conserue this present benefite: for otherwise, thou shalt put mee to muche trauaile, and thy selfe in great peril.

¶ Howe Traiane triumphed of the Datians, and reformed his common wealth.

Many castels being furnished, and others ouerthrowen and subuerted, and the armies being paid with king Decebal's money: Traiane departed vnto Rome, leading with him the kinges sonne for pledge, and other noble men for Ambassadors: because it was a lawe much used and also obserued amongst the Romaines, that it were of no value which was capitulate in the wars, if it were not confirmed in the Senate at Rome. The Ambassadors of king Decebal arrived at Rome before the Emperour Traiane: who bareheaded, their armour throwne downe, and their hands ioyned and lifted vp, did humbly beseeche the Senate, that it might please them to pardon king Decebal the rebellion which he had committed against them, and to confirme all that which the Emperour Traiane had capitulate, because for that which had passed, he did repent him, and for time to come did offer amends. With readie disposition the Romaine senate did appoyne, allowe, and confirme all actes agreed vpon betwixt Traiane and the Datians: and presently commaunded their armour to be restored them, & to walk in the citie at their libertie: because it was a lawe inuolable, that the Ambassadors whose Princes helde warres with the Romaine people, might weare no kinde of armour, either walke the streets at libertie without licence. Many and most extreme were the feastes wherewith the Romaines did receiue the Emperour Traiane, & very great was the riches he bestowed in his triumph: & admitting the Romaines did much reioyce to see their Empire riche & in great power: but it did much more please them to beholde Traiane returned whole, safe, and aliue: for it is incredible, what affection and loue all men did beare him, and the sacrifices beyond all valure that for him they did offer.

On

On the daye of his triumph, the sonne of king Decebal was placed in the arche with Traiane, for that he was a verie childe: whome afterwarde he did intreate, not as a prisoner, but as his owne proper sonne. In the conquest of the Datians, and in visiting the Germanes, Traiane was deſerued willingly two yeares: and at his returne vnto Rome, he found not the common wealth in such order as he left the same, and thereof is no maruile: for Princes making warre with their enemies, presently the citizens make peace with vices. That day in which Traiane entred triumphing into Rome, he that by chance was most noted in those playes and pageantes, and of whome Traiane that day did take most delight, was a certaine maister of Enterludes named Pilas, who for rewarde of his traueile, did not craue of Traiane but licence to vse his facultie, wherein Traiane did aunswere him: Princes haue to consider that their commaundements be iust: but after commaundement, for no request or seruice they ought to reuoke the same. That which I will do for thee, shall be to paye thee verely out of mine owne treasure, as much as thou maist gaine by playing in the streets of Rome.

Although Traiane went laden with armour, compassed with affaires, occupied in warres, busied in buyldings, importuned with friends, tyred with enemies, and about all, moste studious in amplifying his fame, and to perpetuate his memorie: he neuer grew negligent in good gouernement of the common wealth. He was no lesse attentive in hearing, either lesse diligent in dispatching base & ciuil affaires, then those cases of great weight in the common wealth. Notwithstanding he were much busied in the affaires of warres, he did neuer the more grow negligent in the administration of iustice. All the time that he was remaining in Rome, once or twice a weeke he did sitt openly to dispatche matters of iustice.

For any motion that good Traiane had to be solitarie in his house, or for any disease whereby he was with-

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drawne

alone into his chamber, either for any affaires that he had for the warres, neuer man came to craue iustice, vnto whome he denied audience. When any person came, much troubled and furious in complaining of some friend or enimie, presently he stooped his eare with one of his fingers, saying: that he reserved the same, to heare the accused.

Traiane did neuer sitt to heare and determine matters of iustice, but at the gate of the Emperour Titus, and in the place of Augustus: and being demanded, why more there, then elsewhere: answered, I place my selfe where iust Princes were wont to sitt: because in remembering them, I may committ no want of iustice. Traiane being on horsebacke, and vpon the voyage of the seconde warres into Dacia, there came a woman and saide vnto him: Emperour Traiane, I am poore, olde, and a widow: and hauing but one daughter, one of thy household seruants hath rauished her. Traiane answered: poore woman, be not importune with mee: for I sweare vnto thee, by the immortall Gods, that being returned from the warres, I will do thee iustice: to this the olde woman did replye: and what suretie hast thou Traiane, to returne from the warres: hearing so byting an answer, presently he lighted on foote and deferred his departure, until he performed iustice with the poore olde woman. Traiane helpe for custome, when any person did complaine, presently he commaunded it to be written in a booke which he had in his chamber: & this the good Prince did, to the ende to aske accompt of the Judge to whome he did remitt the same, or else for his own better remembrance for dispatch thereof.

In some things, some Princes were equall vnto Traiane, and in some things did surmount him, but in readines of iustice, there was no prince like him in Rome: for that he did neuer man wrong in iustice, either at any time had affection or passion in giuing sentence. Many times Traiane did vse to say: that for Princes to be Iustices

cers, it were right necessarie to be iust in their olde persons: because subiectes and vassals be more easily persuaded to do that which they see, then to obey in that which they are commaunded. Traiane was the first that placed patrones in the Senate, that should defend the poore: and the first also that gaue order, that one daye in the weeke, their causes should be hearde. The Censours or Judges of Rome, did sit but two houres in the morning, and one at after noone, to heare causes: and Traiane did giue order that they should be resident three houres before noone, and two houres at after noone, whereof Traiane was much praised, because it was occasion both to cut off suits, and to dispatch suiters. In the dayes of Traiane, none that had charge of Iustice might augment his goods: but in that estate of riches or pouertie, wherein he began to gouerne, in the same he had to conserue him selfe: and in repaymēt of his trauaile, besides the rewardes which the Prince did giue him, his sonnes were married with the goods of the common wealth.

Being knowen vnto Traiane, howe immortall suites were in the Senate: he ordeined that all suites of Italie should continue but one yere, and the suites of straunge countries, but halfe a yere. Traiane made diuers houses in Rome, where the Censours and Judges might assemble to heare and administer iustice, and also made strong prisonnes, in such wise, that this good Prince prouided, that the good should be succoured, and the euil chastised.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of the seconde warres that Traiane had against the Dacians.

Twentie monethes after that Traiane had overcome the Datians, the sonne of king Decebal died in Rome, whome remained there as pledge, for that which his father had swozne and promised: and Traiane was no lesse grieved with the death of that childe, then if it had bene his owne proper sonne and heire. The day that king Decebals sonne was dead, they saye that Traiane saide: the death of this childe griueneth me not, for that it is a sorow to the father, but for breache of promise which he shal committ: for if he haue bene quiet, it was moze for y^e recovering of his sonne, then for obedience vnto the Senate. Not long after this newes came to Traiane, howe king Decebal was rebelled, and to resist the Romaines he repaired the ditches, furnished the castels, entred confederacie with his neighbours, renewed and recovered victuals, and moze and aboue the rest, made warre with the friendes of Romaines. The campe of Agius, which was a greate and a populous countrie, being restored by Traiane vnto him from whome it was taken, king Decebal reentred, did take and occupie the same, in suche wise, that all thinges which Traiane had set downe and determined, was despised, and in all that king Decebal had swozne, he was forswozne. Relation of these thinges being made vnto the Senate, king Decebal was pronounced an enimie, to publishe libertie vnto all persones to giue him and make him warre: bycause it was a law amongst the Romaines, that notwithstanding any did mutine or rebell againste the Prince, vntill in Rome he were declared an enimie, they might not make warre either against him or his countrie.

Traiane once moze determined in his owne persone to goe to the warres of Datia, neither woulde he take with him any Consul or Captaine that was notable in Rome, saying: that since king Decebal to him onely had broken his worde: to him onely it did appertene to reuenge the iniurie. King Decebal, howe soeuer he had made experience of the forces of Traiane, he would yet as in the

former

former warres abide him in the felde: but retired into the most strong holdes of his kingdome, to his small profite: for Traiane had swozne befoze he departed from Rome, to remaine dead in Datia, or bying king Decebal either dead or aliue vnto Rome. Many of the Hunnes which now are named Hugarians, & many of the Rhenes, which are y^e people inhabitant neare vnto y^e riuer Rhene, were come vnto y^e succour of king Decebal, al which people, when they understood that Traiane came with so great a power, and so determined, they forsooke king Decebal in the plaine field: notwithstanding, would he not forsake his wilful purpose, for that his condition was to beginne his attemptes with great rashnesse, and no lesse stout to prosecute them. King Decebal was then of the age of two and fourtie yeares: a Prince most certainly in body of perfect proportion, gracious in conuersation, magnificent in spending, valiaunt in armes, diligent and carefull in the warres, although in the same most vnforsunate: the whiche lost both him and his countrie: because little availeth diligence, where good hap is contrarie. King Decebal was a Prince most vnforsunate, to match in contention with Traiane, whome was a Prince most fortunate: bycause vnto the one, all thinges did happen vnto his owne liking: and to y^e other, all things contrarie to that he did desire. After five monethes y^e the warre was begun, as y^e one Prince did increase, & y^e other decrease: King Decebal retired vnto a certain castel, with the most valiaunt men of his armie: where Traiane did utter & expend the vtterest of his skill, deuice, & policie, to take him: and king Decebal his greatest force and fortitude to defend him selfe. By a Decebal counsel on a certaine night, they conveyed ouer the wall five young men, sayning to be fled, which came vnto Traianes campe, with myndes determined to kill him, eyther with weapō or poison. King Decebal had inuented this treason: for that wanting, as he wanted strength: he would profite and prouide for him selfe, by treason and guile. And as Traiane was of a sincere condition, and nothing malicious, had no

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suspicion of that malice and guile, but rather receiued the with great pitie, and conferred with them a great parte of the day, inquiring and demaunding them of the armies and conditions of king Decebal: and wherefoze he had broken his promise and othe. There wanted not in Traianes campe, that could discern, by their countenance, gesture and silence, that those young men were traitours, or else theues: and one of them being taken and examined, did confesse, that by the counsell and commaundement of king Decebal, they were come to murder Traiane. And as king Decebal was disappointed of this treason and deuice, and the traitours chastised according to their demerites, he determined another deuice: and the case was thus. Upon a truce he craued to speake with Longinus, a famous capteine and much beloued of Traiane: who being come vpon assurance, was taken and bound. Traiane was not a little offended, when he vnderstode that Longinus was detained as prisoner, & no lesse displeased with Longinus, that had giuen too much confidence to the assurance of king Decebal: saying, that the person which is a promise breaker with men, and periured vnto the Gods, by no meanes might deserue credite. King Decebal gaue Traiane to vnderstande, that except he might receiue pardon for him selfe and all his knightes, Longinus shoulde continue prisoner: to this Traiane made answer, that if he had taken Longinus in good war, he wold do any thing to giue libertie vnto his person: but since Longinus gaue trust where he ought not vnto his worde, he was bounde to conserue his life: for that good Princes be more bound to mainteine that whiche they promise, then to procure that which they desire. Although Traiane spake these wordes openly, he did geatly trauell to deliuer Longinus, eyther for exchange, or else for money: but Longinus vnderstanding thereof, dranke poyson, wherof he dyed: & sent word vnto Traiane, y the Gods had neuer to commaund, y for the giuing of his life, they shuld capitulate w king Decebal, any thing y were vile or against honour. This Ro-

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maine straige act of Longinus, gaue great admiration vnto friends and confederats, and did yeald great feare vnto the enimies: bycause he deliuered Traiane of care and thought, and for him selfe obtained perpetuall fame. King Decebal perceiuing the greatest part of his kingdome to be taken and lost, without all hope to recouer the same, eyther able to defende that which remained, determined to make slaughter of him selfe, some say with poyson, some affirme that he drowned him selfe in water, other affirme, that he hanged him selfe: finally, he was found dead without any wounde: whole head Traiane commaunded to be cut off, and to be sent vnto Rome.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the great buildings that Traiane made
in the kingdome of Datia.

The vnfortunate king Decebal being dead, and all the whole lande in Traianes power, he made it a Province: which is to say, he did take away the title of kingdom, and the preeminence of gouernement by Consuls: and gaue order to be gouerned by Pretors, and to be called a Province. Traiane remoued a greate number of the inhabitants of Italie in that countrie: but many moze he brought out of that countrie, to be placed in Italie: and this he did as a man of great iudgement: bycause in displacing the one, he obtained sure possession of the kingdom: and remouing the other, of necessitie they must liue as others did liue in the Romaine Empire. When the capteine Longinus dyed, he left a brother yonger of age, but equall in force and valiauntnesse, whome Traiane made Pretour of Datia, and gaue vnto him for euermoze the castle where his brother dyed: saying vnto him, of two causes, the one is for thyne owne vertue and valiauntnesse, and the other, bycause thy brother Longinus did serue me.

Traiane.

Traiane caused great search to be made for the body of his captaine Longinus : vnto whome he caused to be erected such and so sumptuous a sepulchre, that it was to be doubted, whether he would haue given him so great riches for seruice if he had liued, as he spent in making that sepulchre. In all the kingdome of Datia, there was no knight or Gentleman that had any rents, but only the king: whereof the king gaue vnto euerie man as he did serue and deserue : whereof it followed, that the kingdome being so opulent, the king obtained great riches, welth, and power. When Traiane came the second time into Datia, king Deccebal had great riches both of gold & siluer: not only for the great rents which he receiued throughout his kingdome, but that also he exacted of his subiectes great summes of money. King Deccebal being doubtfull vnto what destinies he and his kingdome were committed, determined to burie all his treasure in a riuer, which he remoued out of his naturall chanell, and in the greatest depth thereof, he made sepulchres of stone to burie his saide treasure : whiche being done, he returned the riuer into his olde chanell, which was named Sargetia : and to the end that no man shoulde discover this secreete, he commaunded to murder all that were present at the hiding thereof. But to small purpose, for that a fisher, which at that time did fish the riuer, discovered the whole matter vnto Traiane : in suche manner, that there is nothing so much hidden, that humane couetousnes doth not discover. Those treasures being brought into Traianes power, he diuided thereof amongst his armies, vnto euerie man according to the merites of his seruice : and of his owne share, the first that he commaunded was, to builde a most sumptuous temple vnto the God Iupiter : wherein he left provided, that for him selfe and the people of Rome, yearely sacrifice to be offered. He reedified there also the royall house, that is to say, where the kings of Datia did vse to be resident : whiche for the antiquitie thereof was somewhat decayed, and through continuall warres, not well repayzed: a worke most certainlye

table to behold, and pleasant to dwell in. He repaired also many decayed bridges and mylles, vpon high wayes he renewed their broken calseys in all places, he did build newe houses, and reedified others infinite that were burnt. He brake and made plaine many wayes vpon the sharpe mountaines, and rayled many newe sortes, and renewed the old : finally, you might hardly trauell a league throughout all the kingdome, wherein shoulde not be found some notable worke of Traiane. Not yet all satisfied, he built vpon the riuer of Danubie a bridge of stone, which was so curious in the building, and so costly in the making, that fewe works did match it, but none did passe it. That bridge contained twentie arches in length, and euery pillar of one square stone, and the arches were of the height of an hundred and fiftie fote, wrought without cymet, and the distaunce betwixt the pillars, were a hundred threescore and two fote : and the breadth of the arches aloft was forty fote : and aboute all the rest, the singularitie of the mould and fashion was to be considered, and the richnesse of the stone to be regarded : because the stone was of such glosse, that in iudgement it deserved to be set in plate. It seemed incredible to mans iudgement, for a bridge to be made vpon that riuer : because the streame was broad, deepe, in course very swifte, and aboue all the rest, on no side it might be turned out of his chanell, to the end it might be drie at any time to lay the cymet. That building was so extreme, or to say better, so monstrous, that it needed to make experience of all high iudgements and capacities, and the Romaines there to shewe their strengthes, and Traiane there to spend his treasure: because in the worke there required great potentie, and in the order thereof great industrie : it is verie small that the penne can magnifie, in respect of the wonder which he seeth that beholdeth the same : for the better credite thereof, at these dayes the pillars giue a muster vpon the fierce waters : declaring the pryde of his power, and the riches of the emperour. Traiane would with that edifice giue terrour vnto the liuing, and admiration to his posteritie,

posteritie, to giue manifest argument, that any thing may not be so impossible, eyther so hard, that with mans hand may not be enterprised, and with the riches of Rome might not be finished. The cause that moued Traian to build this costly bridge, so monstrous, was, as they say, to the end the barbarous people on the other side Danubie, might come to fight wth the Romaines, although the river were ouerflowen: and also that the Romaines that remained there, should not giue them selues to pleasure and idlenesse, when they considered them selues to be in the eye of the enimie. The Emperour Domitian had no suche mynde and valiantnesse: whiche for feare that the barbarous people should come to fight with the Romaine host, commaunded the arches of that bridge to be ouerthrowne: in such wise, that the one made a bridge to prouoke the enimie to fight, and the other did raze the same for feare of battell.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the seconde entring of Rome by the Emperour Traiane, and the notable thing which he did in the same.

In finishing the warrs, in giuing order for the Province, in diuiding the countries, and in yealding perfection vnto all his workes and buildings, Traiane was deteyned in Datia moze then thre yeaeres: in which as he after did report, great were the trauels and perils wherein he did see his person, and not small were the expences that he made of his goods. The victozies that Traiane had obtained, being knowne vnto the Barbarians that did inhabite the other side of Danubie, the mightie buildings that he had made, the great rewardes that he had giuen, and the clemencie that with prisoners he had vsed, sent their ambassadours vnto Traiane: who with verie good will did set down with him a perpetual peace & amitie, & bound them
selues

selues to keepe and defend for him the kingdome of Datia. Incredible was the loue that all those nations did beare vnto Traiane, which was well knowne when he departed from that countrie to goe vnto Rome: in that by all cities where he did passe, and by all wayes where he did trauell, so great were the teares and cries vttered by all persons, that it seemed the grounde to tremble. In respect of the great largesse and prouesse that Traiane had perfourmed in these Provinces, it was no maruell that his departing was so bewailed: because with his great benefites, he had won their hearts, and with his great and sumptuous buildings he had ennobled his people. Whiuerfally of all friends and enimies, neuer prince as Traiane was so much feared in warres, either loued in peace. The cause wherby Traiane obtained so great loue, and to be so well liked, and in such especial grace with all men, was, that with his friends he neuer vsed negligence, and also in readinesse and strait reckoning with his enimies: in such wise, that such as stode in his disgrace by his wordes, they had to vnderstand thereof: but vnto such as did bend to serue him, both in worde and dede he did manifest the same. They were infinit that praised Traiane, in that he had ben pitiful with them, but none did cōplain that he had found him ingrate. Ennius Priscus, a noble & ancient Romaine demaunded of the Emperour Traiane, by what meanes moze then all other Princes past, of all men he had obtained so speciall loue and liking: Traiane did answer, for that naturally I delight to pardon such as do offend me, and neuer forget such as do serue me. And truly Traiane saide most truthe: that loue and hatred haue their beginning of thankfulness and ingratitude: because there is no enimie so fierce, or cruel, as he which in time past we held for a friend, being removed by vkindnesse. All things as concerning Datia, being dispatched, Traiane returned to Rome. If the triumphes of the first warres were great, when king Decebal was overcome, muche greater were the triumphes of the second warres, when he was slaine.

The

The feasts of the triumphes of Datia, endured an hundred and twentie dayes : in which were slaine an hundred Lions, and of other wilde beastes an hundred thousande, which is to vnderstande, Deare red and ballo, Tygres, Buites, Leopards, Wolues, Beares, Unicorne, Beares, Panthers, Elephants, Camels, Dunces, and many other such straunge beastes taken & brought from the deserts of Africa, and the great India. The feastes of the triumphe being finished, presently Traiane commaunded to be made great sacrifices vnto the Godds, in remuneration of the great perils from which they had deliuered him, and for the great triumphs which they had giuen him. He commaunded newe temples to be made, one vnto the vnknowne God to the Romaines, another vnto the God Mars, whiche was the God of the Datians. He commaunded greatesummes of money to be giuen to the Priestesses of the temples : vnto the end they should offer daily sacrifice vnto the Gods, for the health and prosperitie of his kingdomes: and also to repaire & ennoble their temples. At his coming from Datia, when Traiane passed the riuer Rubicon, being detained an whole day for want of passage, immediately vpon his coming to Rome, he sent money & workemen to make a bridge ouer that riuer : whiche was more profitable, although not so sumptuous as the bridge made ouer Danubie. In the marishes of Pontaine, Traiane did rayse and make a calley both long and large of stone, a worke right profitable and necessarie, although not a little costly : for where as afore there was but water and myre, there succeeded houses and inhabitants. In those dayes there dyed in Rome, a certaine Physician named Suras Lycinus : in whose death Traiane did utter great sorrowe, vnto whom he commaunded his picture to be aduanced in the place, and a riche sepulchre to be erected in the field of Mars. There was in Rome two speciall men learned in letters, and vertuous in manners : whiche were perfect friends of Traiane, and in the common wealth much esteemed: the one was named Palma, and the other Celsus : vnto these

he gaue many and great offices of honour, and in the place did erect vnto them pictures of Alabaster. Traiane made in Rome many and great Libraries : wherein he did place bookes of all sciences, and of all languages, where strangers might reade, and citizens learne. Where so euer Traiane entered, were it within the Empire, or in a straunge kingdom, he was alwayes curious, in causing search for fine things : that is to say, horses of good race, learned men of good inclination, newe armour, faire women, and auncient bookes. All these things, or which soeuer of them, were neyther lost by any negligence : or left vnbought for any money. In the place named Datia, Traiane erected a certaine most highe pillar, a worke most certainly being of one stone right stately, and to behold, in breadth and height of great wonder. It is not writtten from whence that pillar was brought vnto Traiane, neyther for what intent he did raise the same in that place : but as some doe gesse, he ment vpon the toppe thereof to haue placed his sepulchre : others sayde, to no other ende, but to perpetuate his memorie.

CHAP. XV.

Containing what Traiane did in Sicily,
in Africa, and in
Spaine,

Traiane being soake with delight in the buildinges of Rome, Rufus Galba Pretour of Africa did aduertise, that all Africa was scandalized, by meanes of cruell warres, betwene the Numidians and the Mauritans. These newes being hearde in the Senate, they say that Traiane sayde. The warre grieueth me, but the occasion to passe into Africa doth muche please me : for that many

dayes past I haue desired to see the famous fieldes of Carthage, where Scipio in so thozte space obtained for him selfe immortall renoune, and Hanibal lost that in one day, whiche he had gotten in sixtene yeares in Italie. Traiane departed from Rome by the waye of Sicyl: where he stayed al the Winter, and to auoyde idlenesse he scarcely lefte any place in the whole Islande personally vniuisted, none that were then alieue in Sicyl, might remember to haue scene any Romaine Prince within the same: for whiche cause Traiane founde many thinges to be repaired in the walles, and muche more to be amended in their customes and manners. Traiane being informed, that many straunge shippes did lurke in the haven of Mecina to spoyle, and many pyzates barkes did haunt and retyze vnto the same, to execute their robberies, in his owne person went to the viewe thereof, and at his owne cosse commaunded thre bulwarkes to be made, at the mouth of the haven: whiche eyther for want of diligence of the one part, or for muche malice on the other side, the case was thus: that before it coulde be finished, the pyzates had ouerthrowne it. Amongest the Panormitains, whiche be they of Palermo, and the inhabitants of Mecina, of olde time had continued great contention; betwixt whome Traiane not without great trauell, determined & finished all quarelles and debates: and brought to passe, that from thence forth they continued in great friendshippe. To the ende to perpetuate that peace, and to roote by all passions and vnbindinges of that Islande by the rootes: to the principall both of the one and the other, Traiane gaue pensions out of his owne house, and daily did cause them to eate at his owne table. In Palermo, Mecina, and Tatanina, Traiane commaunded seuerall temples to be made: and the Gods to whom those temples should be dedicated, the inhabitants to make choice. Traiane reuied in Sicyl the kinde and race of good hostes, reedified the decayed walles, melted all counterfet money, erected newe castles, builded stately temples, set peace and established quietnesse.

nesse amongst the mutined cities, & gaue many great rewarues: although no liberties vnto the people. Traiane being demaunded why he gaue no liberties vnto the Sicilians, as he gaue vnto other kingdomes: answered, by cause seruitude doth conserue them, and libertie destroy them.

The Winter being past, and the Spring come, Traiane passed into Africa, and did lande in the haven, where olde Carthage in time past was situate: & not finding one stone vpon an other, to giue testimonie of the foundation thereof: they say y he sayd. It griueneth me that Carthage so greatly resisted Rome: but it more sozethinketh me, that Rome shoulde not be satisfied, but with the totall destruction thereof. In the place where olde Carthage stode, Traiane did builde a castle more faire then strong, and erected therein two counterfets. the one of Hanibal the Carthaginian, and the other of Scipio the African: but presently vpon his departing from that countrie, the pyzates layde it flat on the earth. Incontinent after Traiane had arriued into Africa, there grewe a generall pestilence throughout the same, for whiche cause he coulde neyther goe to see that he desired, eyther perfourme that whiche he determined. And as the pestilence grewe so cruel, Traiane was constrained to retyze vnto y port of Bona, which was somewhat more sound: and from thence he sent for the principals of the Numidians, and also of the Mauritans: who incontinently in presence of Traiane, were made friends, and left and committed into his onely handes all their affaires. Amongest all the Princes of this worlde, Traiane obtained this excellencie: That neuer man came into his presence, that denied him that, whiche he craved, eyther disobeyed him wherein he commaunded: bycause in his commaundements hee was verie wise, and in requesting verie humble. Traiane thought to haue stayed in Africa, more then two yeares, and yet remained there but foure monethes: and as he sayde afterwarde, that if the pestilence had giuen no impetiment, he would of him self haue left

lesse as great memoriall in Africa, as he did in Datia. Traiane took sayle at the porte of Bona, and came by the streightes to Cadix, whiche is now called Calize, a citie of Spaine: wherein he had bene bred, and from whence being a verie young man he had departed. Traiane gaue many Privileges vnto the Gauditains, as vnto his naturall friends: amongst whiche, two were most notable: namely, that they shoulde be citizens of Rome, and paye no custome or tribute, for any merchandise whiche they transported. Traiane did builde in Calize a most sumptuous temple vnto God Genius: whiche the Romaines helde for the God of byrthe. He made also a calsey of stone along the shoare: but it was not all finished, when by the furie of the water it was all destroyed. He intended to repayre the pillers of Hercules, whiche by their great antiquitie were then consumed: and being perswaded by certaine persons to erect others in his owne name, to the ende that in time to come, they might be called the pillers of Traiane, and not of Hercules: he answered: that whiche I ought to doe is, that as Hercules came from Græcia vnto Spaine, to obtaine honour: so ought I from Spaine to goe into Græcia to winne fame.

Traiane commaunded the brydge of Alcantara in Spaine to be made, a worke that lasteth to this our age: wherein concurrereth statelinesse, subtiltie, cunning, and profite. He made another brydge vpon the riuer Teio, neare vnto Ystobriga, and is the brydge that now is broken, at the bankes of Halconeta. Traiane commaunded the way named Publius to be continued, being the waye that now is called in Spaine, the Calsey, that goeth from Ciuil vnto Salamanca: and is named the Publian waye, whiche is to say, the waye of Publius: for that the firste that beganne the same, was Publius Fabatus, one of the Consuls that fought with Viriato. What which Traiane made of that calsey, little more or lesse, was from the Casar of Cafares, vntil within a league of y vents of Capara, which

whiche be lodging or hayting places: and so to be vnderstood, not because the histories do clearly reposit thereof, but by the pillers which vpon that way be erected: which say in their grauen letters, that they were placed there in the dayes of Traiane. And he that will be curious to goe and see, (as I many times haue gone to see and reade, and also to measure:) shal finde within the sayde boundes, the name of no other Prince but of Traiane: and before the Casar which is a towne, neyther after the vents of Capara, which be lodgings, vpon no piller shall they finde Traiane written. The cause wherefore the Consul Publius Fabatus did raise that calsey, was to make a diuision betwixt the Vetical Province, which is Andaluzia, and the Province of Lusitania, which is Portugal: diuiding from Ciuil to Salamanca, all on the left hand of the calsey in olde time being Lusitania, and all on the right hande Andaluzia. Betwixt the Proconsul of Betica, and the Proconsul of Lusitania, there did arise great contention, vpon the diuision of their boundes: wherevpon this large and sumptuous calsey was erected and perfourmed. Vpon the riuer of Gadiana, Traiane commaunded a long brydge to be made, on the middest whereof he built a market place for the merchants of both people, to trade and concur. This brydge appertaineth to the citie of Merida, which at this day appeareth verie large, and had in the middest thereof a diuision, stretching vnto the riuer, the hurle of a stone, whiche on both sides came backe vnto the brydge, continued, directed, and sustained by walles, in the compass wherof was the place or market. When the Greeks did first giue foundation vnto Merida, they made therein two streates, and thortoor Gadiana betwixt them both, and where Merida now standeth, was the stronger, and that on the other side the riuer was more delectable: in suche wise, that they helde the one to retyze vnto in time of warre: and the other to delight in time of peace. As the Consul Publius Fabatus made diuision of Portugal and Andaluzia, the streate on the other side the

river fell to the p^rouince of Lusitania, and the streete which is now Merida, fell to the p^rouince of Betica, and fr^o thenceforth there was alwayes betwixt the great contention: in such wise, that they ouerthrew the bidge that stode in the middst of the citie, and the coyne that in times past had ben currant, they made of no value betwixt them. This good Emperour Traiane, meaning to cut off these so old enimities, made in y^e middst of the citie, vpon Gadiana the bidge that now is: and to remoue all quarels for walking in eache others streates, he made a market place in the middst of the bidge, where they should congregate, talk, and traffike of their merchandize. The prosperitie of Merida continued, vntill the time that the Gothes entered Spaine: whiche holding warre with the Silingues, being in those dayes Lordes of Andaluzia: fortifying them selues in Merida, by the Gothes were there overcome, and those generous, sumptuous, and auncient buildings, th^owen flat vpon the earth. In no citie of all Europe, did soyntly concurre foure buildings; suche as Merida helde: that is to say, a statelie college, certaine conduites and arches for conueyance of waters; a temple of Diana, and a bidge that contained a great and large market place: which continued in building many yeares, and perished in one day.

CHAP. XVI.

Howe Traiane did passe out of Spaine, into Asia, and the manner that he vsed in the warres.

After that Traiane had visited in Spaine the p^rouince of Betica, of Lusitania, and the p^rouince of Carpentania, he came through the p^rouince of Tarragona: in which yere in the whole land, there was great scarcitie of bread: wherby Traiane was constrained to shorten his iourney, and to hasten his imbarcage: in such manner, that the pe-
silence dyaue him out of Africa, and hūger out of Spaine.

Traiane

Traiane departed Spaine, with determination not to stay, vntill his arriuall in Asia, and there to take the way vnto y^e greater Armenia: would neuer take land in any parte of Italie, but passing like pylgrimes, made no stay, but onely to renewe their victuals. All those whiche trauelled with Traiane, were astonied to see him passe the portes of his kingdomes, as if it had bene the lande of enimities. Traiane had a capteine named Valerius Gracchus: vnto whom the Emperour did beare speciall affection, and did esteeme him as a kinsman: vnto this man they say, that Traiane sayd, in great secrecie. If I had found warres in Sicyl, Africa, or Spaine, as I found in Datia, whereby I might haue obtained some victorie, I woulde not haue passed without landing in Italie: but since it is thus come to passe, I sweare by the immortall Gods, to set no foote a land in Italie, vntil I deserue to enter triumphing into Rome. High & vertie high were these wordes, worthy and right worthy to be written in the hearts of p^rinces: to beholde this p^rince that banished him selfe from the delightes of his owne p^roper kingdomes, to seeke fame in straunge landes. With great determination Traiane did enterpryse y^e voyage into Armenia, wherin he entered, making cruell war: taking occasion of y^e king of Armenians, which refused to confesse to haue receiued his kingdom from the Romaines, but of the king of Parthians. Traiane not satisfied to make war vpon the Armenians, but also entered the landes and territories of the Parthians: because in the most p^rincipall p^rouince of Trapa, he deteined his armie moze then thre monethes. Parthurus king of Parthians, a man of great yeares, beholding the warres offered him by the enemie, determined to present peace vnto Traiane, who being demanded of his Parthians why he discovered so great feare within his owne kingdom: he made answer. If the wars were but armie against armie, the Parthians woulde not feare the Romaines: but we fight with the Emperour Traiane: vnto whome the Gods haue giuen so great fortune, that it farre exceedeth our great power.

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Without consuming of many dayes, or imploying of many armie, the Parthians made peace with Traiane, and the Armenians did yeald them selues as ouercome. From Parthimifires king of Armenians, the kingdome was remoued, and both crowne and kingdome Traiane gaue with his owne handes vnto his sonne: and this he did, by cause king Parthimifires had sayd: that of the Parthians, and not of the Romaines, he was crowned king: in suche wise, that the good Traiane in remouing the kingdome from the father, did execute iustice: and in giuing it to the sonne, gaue a shewe of his clemencie. Traiane was not satisfied, that the Parthians shoulde haue peace, and become tributaries vnto the Romaines, but that king Parthurus by the handes of Traiane, must be crowned: and so it came to passe, that kneeling vpon his knees, he receiued his crowne, kissed his hande, and consented to pay tribute. Traiane did marche through all those Prouinces and kingdomes, and vnto the kinges that did yeald obedience, benignly he did intreate them, and in their kingdomes did confirme them: and vnto suche as did vse resistance, vnto others he gaue their kingdomes, and sent them prisoners vnto Rome. Traiane helde for custome, that in all principall cities of kingdomes or Prouinces: that he had taken by force of armes, he did commaunde to erect a most strong castle, wherovnto his armie did repayze: and a right sumptuous temple, wherein to worshippinge the Goddes of Rome. As Traiane did passe and trauell, visite and conqueere all the three partes of the world, that is to say, Asia, Africa, and Europa: in all which countries he did trauell to leaue of him selfe immortall fame: the testimonie wherof maketh it credible, that all the Romaine princes ioyntly haue not erected so many buildings, as Traiane onely did perforce. Traiane did leade his armie verie well furnished, ordered, corrected, and also in great subiection: & this proceeded, that alwaies in his own person he did accompany the same, and helde them both paide and rewarded: for as he did vse to say, The host that of his owne proper

Prince

Prince is not visited and paide, is sildome or neuer in subiection. When Traiane was in the warres, in his feeding and apparel, he did rather seeme a companion, then an emperour of Rome: for that sildome he went vnarmed, and many were the dayes wherein he did eate standing. Having a bodie somewhat drie and of great sinowes, he was most patient in tedious trauaile of warres: that is to say, in suffering hunger, colde, thirste, wette, snowe, heate, & perils, whiche he refused not as a coward, but sought the out as one of a valiant mind: for y in all hazardes & perils, he neuer saide vnto his captaines, go; but, let vs go; do; but, let vs do: fight; but, let vs fight. He gaue in charge vnto his armie, not to attempt to burne houses, set fire in corne, ouerthrowe milles, or cut downe orchardes: affirming, that these thinges are to be obtained, but not destroyed. When Traiane would take any citie, he did not imploye his force in any thing moze, then to deprive the enimies of their waters. In the campes of his enimies, he did cause to be sowne false newes: that is to wite: that if he had victuals, to saye, that he wanted: that if he had money, to saye, it was spent: that if he had much people, that they were gone: that if he would shortly giue an assault, to saye, that he would departe: and by this meanes he brought his enimies into negligence, while in meantime he did fortifie his armie. Traiane was of greates liberalitie vnto such as discovered the enimies secretes: and ioyntly therewith, of no lesse prouidence, for the entering of spies within his campes. When he helde warre with any citie or countrey, he did not permitt his souldiers to spoile the borders thereof: for he helde opinion, that small profit might rise to spoile the poore villages: and greates hurte and offence vnto the armie, by want of victuals. Vnto a captaine that took a ploughman, & kilde his two Oxen at the ploughe, Traiane commaunded to be banished with great ignominie, and to giue the ploughman his horse, his armour, and all his wages that was due. For no fault Traiane commaunded any man to be slaine in the

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warres

warres, but onely him that kept being of the watche, or the captaine that ranne awaye out of the battell, or did rauishe any woman. Traiane was so pitifull, that vsually he did pardon all negligences, especially in the warres, except two faultes which he did neuer remitt, that is to say, such as blasphemed the Gods, and rauished women. Traiane was verie diligent and careful in visiting his camps, and to keepe a reckoning of all his armies: and this he did to the ende that no vagabonds should wander amongst them: in such wise, that no man went to the warres, that did not beare armour, and go to the battell. Traiane helped in his armies maisters of all exercises to teache the young men the arte of knight hood, that is to saye, howe to playe at the sword, to shote in the crossebowe, to runne on horse, to skale a wall, to mine a castell, to wrestle with the enemye, to swimme ouer a riuer: finally, the greatest of Traianes exercise was, to augment and nobilitate his armie and knight hood.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the honourable titles that the Romaines sent vnto Traiane, and of the earthquake of Antioche.

THE Romaines did much desire, that when Traiane did saile from Spaine into Asia, that he should haue landed in Italie: but when they vnderstode of the great victories and prosperities which he had receiued in Asia, great was the ioye and sportes which were done at Rome. In times past, some Princes ouercame the Parthians, and others of them were ouercome: but neuer prince, as Traiane, did make them by feare yeald vpon their kingdome: and that of his owne will, knœling vpon his knees, would by a Romaine Prince be crowned. The Parthians were a people so vntaineable to be subdued, that they saide of the selues: the Gods could absolutely confound them: but impossible for men to ouercome them. Many dayes they were debating in the Senate vpon determination, of the manner of thanks

thanks which they should write vnto Traiane, and what ensignes of honour they should sende vnto him: since by his vertue they were all honoured, and by his valiant actes, feared throughout the worlde. All the Senate came to consent to one aduice, the which in deede was very generous and noble: that is to vnderstande, that all maner of coyne should be melted within the Empire, and made a certeine newe money in the name of Traiane: wherein Traiane was ingraten, and in the compasse thereof, these letters were written: Imp. Vlp. Tr. Opti. Da. Parth. P. P. Tr. P. Con. 2. Sem. Aug. Which is to saye: this is the Emperour Vlpian Traianus, which was verie good, and right fortunate: he ouercame the Parthians, triumphed ouer the Datians, father of the countrie, tribune of the people, two times Consul, his memorie shalbe immortal. Great was the ioy of Traiane receiued, when he sawe that money which the Senate had made: and when he read the writing therein contained: but of all the titles whiche they gaue him, he gloriied in none so much as to intitle him Imperator optimus, that is to saye: best Emperour: for he affirmed, y all other titles he had obtained by armes, but this other with vertues. For defence of colde, & prouision of victuals, Traiane retired in Winter vnto the citie and prouince of Antioche: where whiles he remained, suche a so fierce an earthquake happened, as neuer in the worlde past was euer heard or seene. The chaunce was thus, that on the 22. day of October, before the breake of the day, suddenly there rose such winde & storme so extreme & impotune, that puld vp trees, beate downe birdes, threw down tiles, & shooke the houses: forthwith it began to lighten and thunder, & did so sparckle and flame, that being night, it seemed to be broade daye. After the thunder and lightening, presently did followe so terrible tempestes and flashings of fire, which with their furious violence, brake downe statelie houses, set billes on fire, kild men at the soudeine: finally, it rained not, but that all the world was on fire, and that the earth did open. And if the earth were afflicted,

„ afflicted, no doubt but the Sea was cruelly tormented:
 „ for the waters began to swell, the windes to alter, fishes
 „ to be troubled, the ayre to be darkened: and that which
 „ seemed moste terrible, the waters did so yell, roare, brye,
 „ and rage, as if they had bene wilde, fierce, & moste cruell
 „ beastes: presently vppon the souden there followed, suche,
 „ and so straunge a heate, that it constrained al men to giue
 „ aire vnto their bycastes, vnbuckle their gyrdle, to throwe
 „ off their cloathes, to mount into galleries, their bodie to
 „ sweate: and that which was worst of all, that if they
 „ went forth into the ayre, the violence thereof did ouer-
 „ throwe them: if into the sea, the rage therof did drowne
 „ them. As the windes did vse their furie so straunge or
 „ neuer scene, and the earth so parched and dreyed by the
 „ drought of the Summer, they raised so sharpe a dust, that
 „ the ayre seemed to be farfed or compound with dust. The
 „ matter was marueilous monstrous, and terrible to be-
 „ holde: the ayre so thicke with dust, the Seas to yell and
 „ roare, the windes in so furious combat, that one might
 „ not see another, that they durst not open their mouthes,
 „ neither drawe breath at their nostrils: for so greate was
 „ the dust that they did swallowe and receiue into their bo-
 „ dies, that soudainly they fell downe dead vppon the earth.
 „ All these calamities, and marueilous wonders, were no
 „ doubt verie fearefull: but vniuersally not so dangerous:
 „ for although many did perishe, many also were saued.
 „ When presently began the earth to quake so strangely and
 „ vnusually, that olde houses did fall, walles did open, tow-
 „ ers did cleaue, the monuments did rent, and stones did en-
 „ counter eche other. In some places, the houses were vt-
 „ terly ouerthrowne, in other partes halfe throwne downe,
 „ in other places walles opened, in other some places trees
 „ pulde vp by the rootes, domesticall beastes slaine: finally,
 „ there was no stréte in the whole citie, wherein the earth
 „ quake had not vled his violence. If such destruction was
 „ executed amongst trees and stones: holwe great was the
 „ calamitie that passed amongst men: the case was right
 „ lamentable

„ lamentable to heare men crye, women scriche, children
 „ waille, beastes howle and brye, one crossing and encount-
 „ tering another, some dead, some with broken heades,
 „ some with broken legges, some lamed in their armes, and
 „ some stricken cleane through the bodie. At suche time as
 „ these thinges did chaunce, great numbers of people were
 „ come from all the partes of the worlde vnto Antioche,
 „ some to see Traiane, some to aske iustice, some that went
 „ to the warres, some brought prisoners, and others that
 „ were strangers: and in so great a multitude, there was
 „ no man that escaped either deadly wounded or hurte, ex-
 „ cept one woman and one slane. Vppon that night of the
 „ earth quake, Traiane was lodged in a place of pleasure
 „ without the citie, who leaping out at a windowe, not
 „ with such speede, but that he was hurte on his right arme
 „ not able to saye of the cause, whether it proceeded, of tim-
 „ ber, tile, or stone. Traiane was so terrified with the earth-
 „ quake, that all the time in which he staid at Antioche,
 „ he would not remaine in any house, but in the fieldes in
 „ a tent, wherein he did eate and sleepe. Many dayes after
 „ these thinges did passe, certeine persons walking to behold
 „ the salne houses, heard the voice of a woman: and digging
 „ very deepe, they found a woman and her childe, that vn-
 „ der the holldownesse of a bait were escaped: a thing admi-
 „ rable, how the mother without meate so long time, might
 „ haue milke to nourishe her childe. In reedifying of other
 „ houses, they found a dead woman, and a liue childe sue-
 „ king the brest. At the time of the earthquake in Antioch,
 „ the mountaine Caucasus did so open and tremble, that all
 „ the cities adioyning, doubted to be ouerwhelmed with the
 „ fall therof. Running riuers of immortall memorie became
 „ drye. Springs neuer scene or heard of, did flow & remaine,
 „ and olde fountaines for euermore dried vp: many hilles
 „ made plaine, and many vallies made euen. Finally, there
 „ was no house in Antioche, or within the compasse of the
 „ territories therof, that was not totally destroyed, or chan-
 „ ged after a maner into some other order or fashion.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ Howe Traiane subdued Assyria, and what he did in Babylon.

NOWe when Summer was come, Traiane prepared to departe the confines of Antioche towards the iourney of Assyria, to conquer that countrie, if that by peace they did not yeald the same: and being arriued at the great riuer Euphrates, he found the ships burnt, all the bridges broken, and all the Barbarians in armes, with a minde to dye, or to defend their countries. The Barbarians vnderstanding of Traians appoche, made an vtter spoile of all their woods, to remoue all meanes of renewing their nauie, or to recedifie bridges. Traiane had intelligence that farre from thence, certeine shippes vppon the hill Nisibin were a making, whiche presently he sent for, and brought in cartes, and in very shorthe space, a flete vppon Euphrates rigged and armed. The riuer Euphrates being passed, Traiane founde another riuer named Pelsin, ioyning vnto the hill Cardius, which also was of great strength, and almost impassable, but Traiane brake vp his shippes, and once moze by land did carrie the same vnto that riuer: wherein he fought with the Barbarians that defended their bankes. And as they after reported, vtterly determined rather to dye, then to submit themselves to subiection. But that they conceiued, Traiane to be no mortall man, which would fight against them, but some of the immortall Gods that came to destroye them: moued thereunto, in beholding Traians readie carriage for shippes by lande, as they had by Sea. That countrie was named the prouince of Adiabena: which being all ouerrunne & brought vnder subiection: he passed vnto Arbela, and vnto Anguagumela two most epulent prouinces, in whose fieldes, in the

the olde woordes past, the greate king Darius, was ouercome of Alexander Magnus. Traiane spent all that Summer in conquering these prouinces: whiche although they differ in names, yet differ not in seignorie, because they be alwayes annexed vnto the kingdome Assyria, whiche the Barbarians changing the S. into T. do call the same Actyria. And nowe when Summer began to decline, Traiane determined to winter at Babylon: in all which way he neither found enemies that did resist him, either friends to accompany him: because those desertes be so solitarie and drye, that hardly brute beastes be found in the same. Before Traiane did enter Babylon, he would first personally see the lake of Bytamin: the water whereof hath this propertie, that bricke, tile, sande, lime, or chalke, that is tempered therewith, maketh a cymment thereof so harde and strong, that yeldeth not vnto stone or yron. With this water the tiles and bricke were made, and all other matter tempered, that did erect all the walles of Babylon. Also Traiane went to see the caue where the water comes soaking forth, wherout proceeded a stench so pestilential, that kille all cattel that came neare thereunto, and all birdes that did flye ouer the same. Men that passe that way dare not venter the viewe thereof, muche lesse to appoche the smell, except the Euniches that be gelded, which scarce not to beholde, neither are indaungered by the saueur. Traiane might not be satisfied with the view and contemplation of Babylon, muche delighting to viewe the infinite antiquities therein contained, and had thereof great compassion: and also saide it many times, howe many and howe renowned Princes had consumed there their treasure, and imployed the chiefest parte of their life, to perpetuate their fame, which were nowe forgotten, and their stately buyldings vtterly ruined and false downe. Traiane attempted a certeine worke within that lande which did not onely excell all that he had done in Rome, Italie, Sicyl, Datia, and Spaine, but also all that Ninus, Belus, Semyramis, and Alexander had made in Babylon.

Traiane

Traiane was of so high thoughtes, and so singular in his conceites, which he attempted, and in his buyldings which he erected, he was not satisfied that others should thinke him equall with Princes past: but iudge and confesse him to be singular amongst the rest. The case was thus: he opened the mother of the riuer Tygris, and of the riuer Euphrates: & made from the one to the other, a great & a deepe chanell, to vnite them both into one streame: a thing for the present easie to be witten, but at that time, verie terrible to beholde: because the chanell that Traiane caused to be made from the one riuer to the other, was so high, so large, and so deepe, that verie greate shippes might turne, saile, and ride at anchoz. Upon that chanell Traiane did builde a moste stately and a right loftie bygge, a strong castell, a riche and sumptuous palace, and certeine gardenes and orchardes most pleasant, and on either side the riuer, he built faire houses to dwell in, and store houses for merchaunts: and to place there his perpetuall memorie, did name the same Traianicall Babylon. This buylding endured not long, and the cause thereof proceeded, that the riuer Euphrates had his channell moze high then the riuer Tygris, whereby Tygris did increase, and Euphrates diminish: and the Babylonians doubted the one for want of water to be lost: and the other with the furie of the water to be destroyed. From Babylon, Traiane departed to the citie Tefiphont being the head of that province: which although some dayes it stode in defence of it selfe, in the ende it came to be yealded: and there it is said, that Traiane found so greate summes of money, that he had sufficient to pay his armies, to raise vp newe buyldings, and also to furnishe his treasure. Great were the newes that daily came to the Senate, of the marueilous victories which Traiane obtained throughout the world, and howe beyond all Princes past, he had augmented the Empire of Rome.

The inhabitants of Tefiphont were ignozant to sacrifice vnto the Gods, or to obserue feastes and holy dayes: where

whereupon Traiane commaunded to erect a temple vnto the greate God Iupiter, and gaue them instruction, what feastes they shoulde obserue, and howe they shoulde sacrifice vnto their Gods.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ Howe Traiane, after great trauaile to passe into the Indiaes, was constrained to retire.

ALL these countries being ouercome and sett in order, Traiane determined to saile by the read Sea, which is very great, and runneth from the Ocean of the Indiaes, vnto Arabia, and is other wise named the Sea Eritrean, in memorie of king Eritreus which in old time reigned there. The riuer Tygris in the discourse of his currant maketh an Ilande, containing xxx. miles in bredth, and lx. in length: wherein reigned Athabilus a Prince both proude and warlike: whome without armes Traiane brought vnder his Empire. The ayre of those Seas being different in nature from other Seas, and being then in the greatest heate of Summer, Traiane in that nauigation passed much trauaile and perill: and being perswaded by certeine to forsake the Sea, and take the land, answered: the vicious go from hence to Rome to seeke delight, and the virtuous come from Rome hither to seeke trauailes: bycause our predecessours in exchange of great trauailes, receiued great and glorious triumphes: wherefore I will neuer cease fighting for feare, either nauigation for perill or daunger. At the mouth of those Seas, there was a people named Sipasinos, so called of certeine fieldes whiche they helde: whether from manye partes they brought their heards to feede: these Sipasinos were subiects to king Athabilus: who vnderstanding of his submission vnto the Romaines, soynly with great good will came forth to receiue Traiane. Passing along those Ilandes, and all the ci-

ties along the Sea coast on either side being subdued, Traiane entred the Ocean Sea, and therewith vnderstanding the wacke & decaye of his shippes, the darkenesse of the ayre, & his pylots to want experience vpon those coasts, he arrived to land to renewe his naue. Traiane was informed, that those Seas were of such condition, that they endured not shippes made of straunge timber, but of wood of the Indies, for otherwise they did consume, or at times drowne them. The sorrowe of Traianes harte, might not be expressed, for that, to passe into the great Indies, he had no preparation, because of the insufficience of his own ships, and want of timber of the Indies. And when Traiane saw his voyage to be frustrate & without remedie, they saye, he he saide with a great sigh. Of all Princes past, onely vnto Alexander I giue the preeminence, for that he passed into the Indies: but if fortune had not hindered mee: him, as others, I woulde haue excelled: for I had a wil not onely to conquer all the Indies, but therein to haue erected a newe Rome. All the time that Traiane stayed there, he gaue him selfe particularly to vnderstand of the state of all thinges in the greates Indiaes: that is to saye, what Gods they worshipped, what temples they helde, what kinges they obeyed, what dyet they vsed, what garmentes they did weare, howe they did fight, in what cities they did inhabite, wherein they were exercised: and howe much the greater thinges they did report: so much the more, the sorrowe of his heart did augment. From thence Traiane sent certeine messengers vnto Rome, with great riches for the treasure: Also a memoiall of all the prouinces, kingdomes, Ilandes, nations, and people that he had subdued and take, and brought vnder the Empire of Rome. Great joy was receiued in Rome vpon the manifestation of these newes: no lesse wonderfull vnto the Romaines, to read so many, and so variable people to be overcome by Traiane: because it was affirmed amongst them in the Senate of Rome, that none had sene them, either as much as to haue heard of them. Presently they erected in Rome vnto Traiane an arche triumphant, wherein was grauen the names

names of the kingdomes that Traiane had subdued, and the principall prouinces that he had taken: for if they shuld haue placed them all, conuenient vnto his memoiall, they shuld want marble to be wrought, and workemen to graue the same. When Traiane might not passe into the great Indies, he came vnto the house of Alexander the greates, where (as it was saide) he died: and there did buylde all that by antiquitie was decayed & faine downe: & also did adde other newe buyldings thereunto, & offered riche sacrifices vnto the Gods, in memoire & reuerence of Alexander. Traiane sayling on the Ocean Sea towards the Indians, & the Tesciponts, supposing that he shoulde neuer retorne into that prouince, determined to rebel, and therewith slewe all the Romaines, that remained in garrison, & brought all their countie in armes. Against these & other people that rebelled, Traiane sent Maximinus and Lucius with an armie of greates powder, who fought most vnforsunately: for that the one died, & the other died. He that escaped was Lucius, who to resourme all fautes past, took the cite of Nisibis, & Edessa, which he destroyed & burnt with fire, wherof Traiane was not a little offended: because in the warres, he woulde not any spoile to be made by fire. Eritius Clarus, & Alexander Seuerus, two Romaine Prefours, made their entrie by Seleucia, whiche they totally did sacke & destroy: being aduertised that Traiane was drowned at Sea, they rebelled & slewe the Romaine magistrates. Traiane doubting the rebellion of the Parthians, entred their countie, hauing intelligence of the death of Parthurus their king, & the alteration of their kingdom. Traiane commaunded all the principals of Parthia to appeare before him, who asssembled in the fields of Tescipont, where Traiane being aduanced did aduertise the of his determination, which if they did admitt & consent vnto, they might safely hold him for a pitifull father: and otherwise they shoulde finde him a most cruell enimie.

The Parthians ioyfully answered, that their desire was much more to hold him as a father, then an enimie: and did yeld them selues both to beleue, and to obey him:

making their humble suite, to giue them no king, except he were a native of their kingdome: for that a straunger should want both loue and obedience. Presently Traiane toke a crowne in his handes and set it vpon the heade of Persnapate, declaring him to be their king and lord, of which prouision they helde them selues marueilously wel pleased, for that he was not onely of their kingdome, and well known vnto them, but also bothe vertuous and warlike.

CHAP. XX.

¶ Howe Traiane comming from Asia to triumph in Rome, was staide by death in Sicyl.

THE land of Parthians being stayed & pacified, Traiane was in disposition to go to Rome: partly to rest, and to cease from traueile, and chiefly to triumph ouer so many nations and kingdomes: but being aduertised of the rebellion of the Agarens, and that the Romaine pretours were fledd: presently Traiane departed vnto the lande of Agarens, which is in Arabia, hauing a citie as principall of their prouince, very little, but marueilous strong: the destinie whereof was such, that being sieged by infinite Princes, was neuer taken or overcome. For defence of that citie, the nature and situation of the countrie did not a little helpe: for that the assailants had neither wood or timber to aduance their engins, either water or forage, for reliefe of them selues or cattel: & the same vnto straungers not vsed thereunto, did rather seeme to burne, then to giue light. Traiane commaunded an assault to be giuen vnto the citie: the most valiant captaines being mounted vpon the wall, at an instant some were slaine, and some werthowen. Traiane disguised, and in disposition to besiege the citie, was of the enemies both knowen, wounded, and his squire slaine.

The

THE Agarens being demaunded, if at that instant they had notice of the Emperours person: they answered, that his grauitie, and the maiestie of his presence did discouer his estate. Traiane being at that siege, there arose terrible lightening and thunder, which in that countrie was neuer scene: and besides, there descended vpon the Romaine campe fies so many & impoztune, that both their meate and drinke, and their owne persons, were continually couered with the same. Traiane considering the citie to be impregnable, did retire his armie. They saue, that he saide, at his retratte: Since the Agarens, with mine armies, either my wordes, be neither subdued or perswaded: the destinies haue reserued this triumph for some other Prince in the world to come. In the prouince of Cyrene, Traiane had a greate armie both of Greekes as of Romaines: and the pretor of those armies was a certeine Romaine named Andreas, against whome the Jewes of those partes did rebell, and slewe both captaine, Greekes, and Romaines. The Jewes were not onely contented to haue slaine the Romaines, but also brought the dead bodies vnto the shambles, and there did quarter, cut in peeces, and solde by weight: & with no lesse appetite did eate that humane fleshe, then if it had bene hennes and selants. Adding crueltie vpon crueltie, they brought forth certeine Romaines whiche they had in prison, and did wage one with another, a denere, or a point, to strike off the head of a Romaine at a blowe. Another thing, not moze vile then horrible, the Jewes committed vpon those miserable Romaines, that is, they slewed them quicke, and tanned their skinnes for leather: and further, with greatest disgrace, did cut off their most shamesfull partes, and plaide and tost them as a ball in the market place. As the Jewes left no Romaine vnlaine, so left they no crueltie or kind of death that they did not experiment: and in this matter, we haue no lesse to marueile, at the hearts of the one to execute, then of the patience of the other to suffer. What which was done by the Jewes of Cyrene, was executed by the Jewes of Aegypt, and

C. iii.

and

and of the Ilands of Cypres, who steele all the Romaines within their common wealthes: which slaughter was no lesse, then 500000 Greekes and Romaines. When these sorrowfull newes came vnto Traiane, he was very sicke: but notwithstanding provided what was conuenient for so desperate a case: and presently sent Lucius into Cyrene, Marcus into Cypres, and Seuerus into Aegypt: who committed so great spoiles among the people, and executed so cruell iustice vpon the inhabitants, that if the dead had bene liuing, they would haue yelded them selues for sufficiently reuenged. Elius Adrianus was captaine vnto Traiane for the garde of Syria, and hearing what had passed in this matter, suddenly he descended into Iurie, and did execute therein a greate slaughter: and they of Cypres, receiuing warning by this great treason, did ordeine that no lewe shoulde dare to inhabite, or passe into that kingdome: and that if tempest shoulde bring them by chaunce into that Ilande, to haue no redemption thereof, but by the losse of their heades.

Traiane naturally was alwayes of greates health: but in the trauelle of so many prouinces, following of so many warres, sayling vpon so many Seas, and enduring so many woundes, the griefe or disease of the piles did not a little bere him. But the case was thus; that from the daye that Traiane might not passe into the Indies, they neuer sawe health in his person, or ioy in his face. Whrough the cause or disease of the piles, at chaunge of weather, Traiane had a fluxe of bloude, which for his health was very profitable. Either by the colde which he had passed, or angers which in him selfe he suffered, or greates age, where with he was laden: there increased vnto the good Prince, a Passie or humme of his arme, and his purgation by fluxe of bloud was stopped. Joyning vnto the citie of Seleuca, there were certeine famous bathes, whereunto sicke people of all partes did conurre, whether Traiane did cause him selfe to be remoued, to make prose for recoverye of his health. And as experience did after declare,

those

those bathes did not profite, but hinder: for being weake, consumed, and spent, although he had force to bathe, he had no strength to sweate. Sothe when Traiane sawe him selfe without hope of life, he wrote a letter vnto the Senate of Rome, commending the state of his house vnto Lucius, and the affaires of the warres vnto Elius Adrianus. He dyed in the citie of Seleuca which is in the prouince of Sicyl, which from thence forth was named Traginopolis, in the age of 63. yeres, and in the reigne of his Empire 21. yeres, 6. monethes, and 15. dayes.

The life of the Emperour Adrian:

Compiled by sir Anthonic of Gueuara,
Bysshoppe of Mondonnedo, Preacher, Chronicler,
and Counseller vnto the Emperour Charles the fift.

(.)

CHAP. I.

Of the linage from whence Adrian descended,
and of the place and countrie where
he was bred and nourished.



The greates Emperour Traiane being dead, Adrian succeeded in the Empire: who was seruant, friend, and cousin of the saide Traiane. The beginning and linage of Adrian by the fathers side, was of Italie, borne in a citie named Hadra: and of the mothers side a Spaniard, borne at Cades, whiche nowe is named Calize, a citie of Andoloizia,

C.iii.

Dis

His fathers name was Elius Adrianus married vnto a woman of Spaine named Domitia Paulina, a woman sufficient wife and faire, bozne in the citie of Calize, shee was neece vnto the Emperour Traiane & his sisters daughter, whome he did much loue, for that of a childe shee was bred in his house. Adrian had a sister named Paulina, who was married vnto a Consul named Seuerinus: and the graundfather of Adrianus was named Marillinus, of the lineage of the Priscans; which lineage did not a little flourish in the time of the Scipions. Adrian was bozne in Rome the 9. daye of februarye, in the consullship of Vespasianus septimus, and Titus quintus: in the yere of the foundation of Rome 488. Adrian had an high bodie of perfecte proportion, except his necke, which was somewhat stooping, his nose somewhat hawked, his face swart, his eyes more grey then blacke, his bearde blacke and thicke, his handes more of finelnes then of fleshe, his head great and round, and a broad forehead, a great signe (as he had) of greate memorie. When his father dyed he was but of ten yeres, who left him for tutors, Vlpus Traianus, and Celius Tatianus, the one being his vncle, and the other his friend: effectually requestinge to traîne and instruct that childe in wisdom and valiantnesse: for that he had no lesse abilitye for the one then for the other.

At the age of tenne yeres, Adrian studied Grammar, and after his fathers death, his tutors set him to learne the Greeke tongue, wherein he was so learned and expert, that for excellencie therein, in Rome they named him the Greeke childe: for that he was as readie in the Greeke tongue, as others in the Romaine speache. At the age of xvi. yeaeres, he had a desire to passe into Spaine, to see his olde countrie, he arrived at Calize, where his mother was bozne, and from whence Traiane was natie, and there leaving his letters, did exercise him selfe in armes: because in those dayes the Spaniards had there a famous studie of science, and the Romaines helde there a schoule for the warres.

Adrian

Adrian bothe in leaping and running was verie light: wherein it is sayd of him, that he ranne for many wagers, and not a fewe times by running and leaping, did winne, to supply his necessitie. He greatly delighted to ride swift running horses, and did much presume, to iudge and make choyce of them: and after in his olde age, he would vaunt and say of him selfe, that he neuer roade in coche, mule, or other beast, but an horse. In the time of Adrian his youth, he was an onimie to idlenesse, and also of them that were giuen therevnto: and many times sayde, that he remembered not since the age of tenne yeaeres, whether hee stood still, or walked by the way, that he had not eyther a booke to reade in, or some weapō to fight with. Adrian was naturally sharpe of wit, and of great life, most apparant, in that he was not satisfied, to knowe what some men did knowe: but trauelled to haue skill in all things that men vnderstode: with Philosophers he woulde dispute, with maisters at weapons he woulde fight, with artificers he would worke, and with painters he would paint. Adrian did praise him selfe, and according to writings of olde time, he had great reason so to do: because there was no Art, science, occupation, or inuention in the worlde, that he knew not, or at the least did not trauell to knowe. When Adrian was young, he was but of small patience, for that he endured not any to excell him, neyther yet to compare with him: and rare was that quarell, which he did not make or mainteine. When Tatian, Adrians tutor, did reprehend him for his impatience, and because he was not mylde, as the young man his cousin Emilius, he made answer: My cousin Emilius is not patient, but for that he is a coward, and I by quarelling, am become valiaunt. Neyther being a childe, or growne to more yeaeres: Adrian bled not to breake forth into foule wordes, although they sayde, or did him great iniuries: but indeede, although his tounge were slowe, his handes were very ready. Adrian was of a sound bodie, except that sometimes he complained of his left eare, and that one of his eyes at times did water: but

C. v.

these

two evils did not hinder his hearing, much lesse his sight.

CHAP. II.

Of some euill inclinations that possessed
him, and had power in Adrian.

The Emperour Adrian did muche delight in hunting, which he did not exercise in the plaines, but in mount-
taines, for he took no care to flee with haukes, but to fight
with fierce beastes, to make a shewe of his valiauntnesse.
So giuen and so venturous was Adrian in his chace, that
with great reason I will not say did reproue, but note, the
time that he continued: and that not onely for much time
he spent there, but for that many times he was in great
danger. It hapned sometimes, that in following the chace
of wilde beastes, Adrian did lose himself, in those rough and
craggie mountaines: wherof there followed not a few times,
that he would haue eaten if he had had breade, and would
haue dranke, if he had had water. When he went to hunt,
he carried his crossbowe to shote, his quiver of quarels, and
his wallet of victuals: and alwayes did place him, in the
pace, where the beast should passe: and had so little feare,
and so desirous of chace, that if it were a beare, he did ex-
cute some aduenture: and if it were a Lion, he did abide
him. It is not read, that he slue any Lion, but one: but
beares and other cruell beastes, that he slue with his owne
hands, were infinite. Adrian followed most fiercely a cer-
taine beast with so great desire, and did so trauel to attaine
the same, that he fell ouer a rocke, put his shoulder out of
ioint, brake one of his legs, and cast much bloud out of his
mouth. In the Province of Misia, Adrian built a citie,
which he did name The chace of Adrian, because there he
used to pitch his Pavilion, and from thence at mornings he
went forth to hunt, and at night did returne to bed. He
had an horse very ready for hunting, which would stave
and make ready as a man, when he vnderstode the chace
comming: and therewithall ranne as sure downe the hill,
as vp the hill. This horse was named Borystenes, which
being deade, Adrian did not only cause to be buried with
much

muche honour, but also commaunded for the same a very
riche sepulchre of Marble to be made and erected. Adrian
did muche esteeme and delight, to paynt figures and coun-
terfets very naturally, and to graue in Marble with great
skil and deuice: sometimes in waie to make newe inuen-
tions: and was in these Arts so curious, that he made the
Goddesse Venus in Alabastrer, and with a pencill did paint
the wars of Carthage: and of waie did sculpe the whole
Island Creta. And albeit, that in these things he were read-
ie and expert, toynly therewith he was very ambitious:
because he had as great enuie, and also rancour at an arti-
ficer, which was sayde to paynt or worke more curiously
then him selfe, as if the maintenance of his living had con-
sisted therein. There were in Rome tenn excellent men,
the one named Dionysius, the other Myletus, men right
famous in the liberall Arts: for that many in Rome did
frequent their studies, but muche more did please their
workes: Adrian did take thereof so great enuie, that al-
though he found no cause to kill them, he wanted not occa-
sion to banish them. A certaine skilfull carpenter in draw-
ing plots for buildings, being in some question with the
Emperour Traiane, of the forme and manner of placing
of a staire, Adrian being present, sayd his iudgement. Some
what besides purpose: wherunto the carpenter Polydorus
answered: Master Adrian, if your cunning did not serue
you better to paint gourdes and cucumbers, then to place
staires, you should obtaine a small credite amongst painters,
as you haue amongst artificers. Although Adrian could dis-
semble those wordes, he might not in any wise forget them:
for after the death of Traiane, he attaining the empire, those
iniurious wordes, were no more costly vnto the sorrowfull
Polydorus, but to serue Adrian for sufficient reuenge, to
take away his life. Adrian being so great a Grecian, and
also a Latinist, compounded certaine workes in Heroicall
metre, as also in prose, & did muche delight to haue them
praised, & could not indure but if some must read them. In
those daies the Greeke tong flourishing in Rome, brought
workes

of Homer in great estimation : whereof Adrian did take so great emule, that he gaue streight commaundement, that none shoulde reade Homer, eyther openly or secretly, but the workes of Anthemachus, who was a philosopher most obscure. Adrian had condition curiously to inquire, of common and small matters : whereof he was both noted and murmured : because, Princes being giuen to make searck of trifling causes, proue variable in prouiding for matters of importance. Also Adrian was of sickle disposition : for that at the souden, he woulde determine, to persourne some enterpryse, and after growe colde, and incontinent omit the same : of this, as of the rest, with great reason, he was noted and accused : because graue Princes ought to haue a reposed deliberation, and a diligent execution. Adrian was in two things most extreme : that is to say, he vsed no measure of weight in his loue, or hatred : for vnto whom he did loue, he gaue all his heart : and where he did abhorre, he did imploy all his strength. Admitting that this manner of loue, or hatred, is tollerable in others, yet most cruelly of veritious Princes not permitted : because if they be vnblesed in loue, in others which they loue not, they cause enuie : and if they be absolute in hatred, they seeke vnto them selues great infamie : wherefore it is conuenient in loue, to be discrete, and in hatred, prouident and aduised. He was likewise most extreme, that if he praised any thing, he did aduance it to the cloudes : and if it fell not into his fauour, he dispraised it to the deepest bottome : in such manner, that all sayd of Adrian, that in praising, he was verie gracious, and in nippes, tauntes, and gydes, not a little malicious. Adrian had great delight in faire women, who was so absolute and also so dissolute in that vice, that he did not onely inioy virgins, persuaide married women, but also in the houses of his verie friendes, he had his secret loues. Of the one part, considering his iniustice, and of the other parte, the great iniustice that he did execute : the historigraphers would not place him amongst the pitifull Princes : neither condemne him with

that were tyrannous : because most truly if he did chastice some by iustice, also he slue others by enuie.

CHAP. III.

Of the friends and enimies which Adrian had.

Adrian being of the age of ninetene yeres, Traiane conceiuing the abilitie and towardnesse of the yong man, as well in letters as in armes, sent to Spaine for him to come to Rome, with whome he did so behaue himselfe, that for entertainment, he did receiue him into his chamber, and in his loue, did place him as a childe. The naturall bountie, and great abilitie of Adrian being in apparance, Traiane from thence forth did so regard and fire his eyes, as well to honour him, all the dayes of his life : as also to leaue him Emperour, after his death. Adrian being in so great fauour with the Emperour Traiane, there folowed thereof in proesse of time, no small displeasures to his person, and perils vnto his life : for his enimies by enuie, with the Emperour procured his disgrace, and with their malice, did maligne him with the people. It is an auncient pestilence in the courtes of Princes, that the Prince being pleased to beare affection, or to honour any person, forthwith they ioyne to murmur, & procure to persecute the same. As Seuerianus being husband vnto a sister of Adrian, did murmur of him vnto Traiane, saying y it was a wonder vnto all men in Rome, to see Adrian so priuate, & so far in fauour, & that they presumed y after his dayes, he should leaue him the Empire : vnto whome Traiane made answer : Who hath to succede me in the Empire : only the Gods be acquainted therewith : but admitting, that it were my will, and the Goddes permitting, that Adrian shoulde succede me in the Empire : I can say vnto thee, that to gouerne the same he will proue no sole, neyther a colwarde to defende it. The answer that Traiane made, was

was very good, and yet not without a secret faunt, for that the Consul Seuerianus, had neyther praised him for valiaunt, eyther held him for wise. This Seuerianus was alwaies a great enimie of Adrian, & did not cease traouelling to disgrace him with the Emperour: wherby Adrian hapned at times, to be both in fauour, and disfauour: in suche manner, that Adrian burned betwixt two fiers, whiche is to wit, care to resist his enimies, and solicitude in conseruing his friends. The first office that Adrian had in Rome, Traiane being Consul, and Domitian being emperour, he was made a Decem viriato: that is to say, he was appointed for one of the ten men, that were deputed, to determine contentions amongst the people. Adrian gaue so good account of his office, and recovered in Rome so good fame, that he seemed sufficient vnto al men, alone and in his own person, to gouerne a common wealth: and so it came to passe, that in the yeare folowing, he was deputed Tribune of the second legion: that is to say, that he had charge to gouerne and correct the seconde capteinship, of the armies that were in the wars: bycause it was a custome in Rome, that euerie capteinship should haue a capteine to fight: and a Tribune to rule and gouerne. The yeare of the tribune office being past, he was sent vnto the inferiour Misia, gouerning that Province with so great prudence, and was of suche readinesse and skill amongst those Barbarians, that some delighted to obey him, & the others durst not resist him. Adrian was in no small perplexitie, for the doubt he had to be remoued from Traianes fauour, which he suspected, to see him selfe in Misia, & his enimie Seuerianus with Traiane in Rome: that vpon any report that might be made of him there, & malice of his enimie had place to aggrauate, and he for him selfe being farre distant, not able to answer. Traiane had in his chamber one whome he much fauoured, named Gallus, a most speciall friend vnto Adrian: and Adrian being aduertised, that Gallus his most faithfull friende was deade, made for him great obsequies, and wept for him many teares. Where succeeded in fauour

fauour vnto this Gallus another named Surus, a man sufficiently wise and prudent: and also this, as Gallus, was most special friend vnto Adrian: and the very cause wherby he obtained the fauoured to be his friends, was: for that in his giftes he was very liberall: and to doe for his friend, no lesse determined. Also Adrian gaue him selfe to content, to serue, and please Plotina, Traianes wife, and bled therein so great skill, and came so farre into fauour with Plotina, that out of that so narrow friendship, he gathered moze profit, then she did honour. Traiane had in his house a neece named Sabina, whiche was to marrie, and requested for wife, of many noble Romaines: but Plotina and Surus trauelled and perswaded Traiane to marrie her vnto Adrian: affirming that with this marriage, he was excused of two marriages, that is to say: to seeke a wife for Adrian, and an husband for Sabina. When as Adrian had presented many giftes, and offered many seruices vnto Plotina: partly for the great loue that she did beare him, and for that she had married him vnto Sabina, she made him answer: Adrian, according to the good will which I beare thee, it is smal which I haue done for thee, in respect of that which I meane to doe: for that I may doe little with my Lord Traiane, but as he hath chosen thee to be his nephew, he shall also adopt thee to be his sonne. After Adrian had obtained Plotina for his good Ladie, Sabina for his wife, and Surus for his friend, he little esteemed the enimitie of Seuerianus his enimie: bycause in Traianes house, all did honour him as one in fauour, & did serue him as a maister.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the loue that the Emperour Traiane
had vnto Adrian.

By the marriage that Adrian had with Sabina, neece vnto the Emperour Traiane, there folowed him, not a little, but very much profite: for, besides that he was most in

in fauour with the Emperour, and verie well liked of the Emperesse Plotina, the greatest parte of the affaires of the Empire, was dispatcht by his handes. Adrian presuming of great eloquence, presented vppon a day before the Senate, a certaine pastozall enterlude, whereat the Senators and Oratours did greatly laugh: not onely of that whiche he sayde, but also of the base stile wherein he did speake the same. He gaue him selfe to the Latine tongue, and to the Art of an Oratour, wherein he grew so profound, y they gaue to him as great glozy for his speache, as vnto Cicero for his wyting. In the first warres that Traiane had with the Datians, Adrian was made Quæstor, that is to say, he had charge to prouide, victuals and furniture for the campe: whiche was an office amongst the armies, of great honour, and of much confidence: for he had both the treasure in his custodie, and the payment of the campe. When Traiane was eyther sicke, or not at leasure, on his behalfe Adrian went to the Senate: but the Senators although they did admit him to speake, they did not permit him to excede or to take the chiefe place: for it was a lawe amongst them much vsed, that being assembled in the Senate, none should presume to clap his handes, to cause silence, or commaund the doore to be shut, neyther enter being clad with a long gowne, or to place him selfe in the highest seate, but onely the Emperour. Being notozious vnto all men, that Adrian was priuate with the Emperour Traiane, and in great fauour with Plotina his wife, and therewithall, that he was a man both prudent and politique: and although in the Senate not permitted to the chiefe place, yet all things were directed by his counsell, in suche wise, that at home all things were done as he thought good, and abzoade as he did commaund. When it was knowne in Rome, that the king of Datia efflonnes had rebelled, Adrian presently perswaded Traiane, in his owne person to go to that war, and to leaue the enterprize to no other man: wherein Adrian did followe and serue Traiane, moze then any other capteine: and certainly did there

so ballaunt and notable deedes, that with Traiane he obtained fauour, and aduanced his person to great estimation. Adrian being thus notified in the warres of Datia, Traiane thought it meete to commend vnto him the seconde legion, which was vnder the protection of the Goddess Minerva: and in such manner did gouerne the same, and gaue his souldiers so great courage, that he was the man, that did most grieue the enimie, and least did feare perilles. The thing most esteemed of the Emperour, Traiane, was a Diamond which Nerua had giuen him: this Diamond Traiane gaue Adrian, in the time of the warres of Datia, which was so kept and esteemed of Adrian, that vntill the day of his death, it was neuer scene off from his finger. The warres of Datia being finished, Traiane returned to Rome, leauing Adrian as Pretour of that prouince, Sulfurus and Seuerianus being consuls. He had not long gouerned Datia, when Adrian receiued from the Senate newe prouision to passe into Panonia: where he was not only gouernour in causes of iustice, but also had charge of all martiall affaires: bycause certaine barbarous Danubians had entered those prouinces, sacking and spoyling greate countries. Adrian being arriued into Panonia, did in short time expell the enimies, visited the countries, reformed the armies, chastised the Romaine officers: and founde by information, that they were great friendes of idlenesse, and no enimies of robberie. The same being come to Rome, of the commendable gouernement of Adrian in Panonia: in the yeare following, in the Kalends of Januarie, the Senate did elect him Consul: and truely, as they were many, that did alowe this election, so they were not few that did resist it: but in fine, the procurers had moze force in their diligence, then the malice of them which resisted.

Of the care and solicitude of Adrian,
to obtaine the Empire.

In all Kingdomes and Prouinces, where Adrian was
eithet Pretour or Questour, presently he made di-
ligent inquisition, if there were any Magicians or Sooth-
sayers: and if he founde any he did perswade them, with
sweete wordes, and riche rewardes, to be certified, if after
the death of Traiane, the Empire should come vnto his
handes: for that he was not onely desirous to obtaine the
same, but carefull to know the issue thereof. Being resi-
dent in the Prouince of Melia, he was aduertised by a
Pythagorike, that he should be Emperour: and deman-
ding howe and by what meanes, he vnderstande thereof,
answered: by a certaine friend which was not onely lear-
ned in the naturall courses, but also did vnderstande the
secretes of the immortall Gods. Although Adrian was
resident in straunge Prouinces, he was not slacke to serue
the Emperesse Plotina, and to please the chamberleine Su-
rus: in such wise, that if his enemies did thinke him farre
off, they found his seruice, alwayes ready and at hande.
When Traiane was stricken in age, and become
sickly, Adrian continued no lesse diligent, to sollicite Ploti-
na and Surus, to perswade the Emperour, to adopt him for
his sonne: but on the other side the Consul Seuerianus,
Palma and Celsus, and other his enemies, did withstande:
whose diligence and malice did little profite, because they
did but discover their intent, and coulde not obtaine their
desire. Eithet by the enely will of Traiane, or by the im-
portunitie of Plotina, nor by the suite of Surus, eithet by
the merite of his owne person, the Emperour Traiane de-
termined to chose Elias Adrian to be his sonne, after his
dayes to succede him in the Empire: for the Emperour
had many kingdomes to giue, but no sonne to whome he
might leaue the same.

Before Traiane had elected Adrian, he was long deter-
mined, to make no assignment of any person, to succed him
in

in the Empire, but to haue used the order of Alexander
the great: who being demaunded, whome he woulde as-
signe to succede him in his Monarchie, answered, Vnto
the most worthy. Traiane made a mentozall, of all the
most vertuous, wise, and of most worthinesse within the
Empire: and ioyntly therewith, caused to be written of
them, seuerall Orations, in Greeke and Latine: and he
him selfe did adde with his owne hande, what he thought
agreeable to their conditions and abilities. To the ende
that after his dayes, the Senate might open and reade the
same, and from thence to make election: not of him that
did most procure, but that did best deserue. At one time a
certaine Consul, named Neratius Priscus, was greatly in
his fauour, vnto whom he had thought to haue left the Em-
pire, in so much, y one day Traiane said vnto him: Neratius
Priscus, from henceforth I comend the Empire vnto thee, if
any sorrowfull or souden destinie shall happen vnto me.
All such as did withstande the adoption of Adrian, did fa-
uour the election of Neratius Priscus: but fortune that
should haue framed the effect, brought Neratius into Trai-
anes great hatred, not a little to the profite of Adrian: by
cause from thence forth, although they remained enemies
to hinder his intent, none as an opposite, durst demaunde
the same. When Traiane passed from Spaine into Asia, to
the wars of the Parthians, Plotina and Surus, made great
suite that Adrian might be sente, as Pretour into Sy-
ria: wher being in Antioche, was aduertised by a mes-
senger from Traiane, which in times past had bene his tu-
tor, how he was elected to be Traianes sonne, and assigned
his successeur in the Empire. Exceeding was the ioy that
Adrian receiued with that newes, which he did utter in
such excessive manner and degra, that presently he did ce-
lebrate, with great games and feastes, the day of his nati-
uitie: and not only vpon that day, but euery yeare, all the
dayes of his life: because it was the thing, that his heart
most desired, and for the attaynement wherof, he had im-
ployed his greatest skill and strength.

At that time were Consuls; Sosius and Pretorius, with whom Adrian entered new friendship: and the end whereof he did undertake this new affection, was, that as Plotina & Surus did sollicite & procure the Empire with Traiane, so those two Consuls should subside him in the Senate: in such wise, that if he did watch to obtaine it, he did overwatch to sustaine it. Not long after that Adrian was adopted, that is to say, after fourtene monethes, Traiane dyed: presently Plotina his wife, and the Consul Tatianus, being chiefe friends unto Adrian, did take order and use great diligence, that Adrian's admission unto the Empire, might first be notified and knowne in Rome, before the death of the Emperour Traiane: which was concealed and couered for certaine dayes, saying, that he was so sicke, that he would not be visited; untill they were possessors of the power of the armies, and had obtained the good will of the Senate. Adrian did write unto the Senators, giving them to understand, that Traiane was at the point of death; and that also he was assigned and adopted to be his successour and heire in the Empire: and did right instantly request them, to take the same in good parte, and thereupon did promise, and sweare unto them, to diuide or giue offices, but at their owne liking and consent.

CHAP. VI.

Howe at Traianes death Adrian was declared Emperour.

The newes of Traianes death being arrived at Rome, presently it was published, that the succession of the empire was committed unto Adrian: & upon the confirmation, or refusal of this election, there arose no small contentions in the Senate: and the matter so far argued & prosecuted

ted, by his friends, and so resisted by his enemies: that it gaue no small doubt of intestine warrs, no lesse cruell, then the warres betwixt Caesar and Pompey. The seruants of Traiane, the friends of Plotina, and the kindred and allies of Tatian, did use suche diligence in this case, that within three dayes they confirmed Adrian, in the Empire: and the greatest cause to moue the Senate thereto, was: that they had intelligence, that Adrian was in Syria, in full power, possession, and authoritie, of the whole armie: and might haue bene constrained to yeelde by force, which they refused to perforce by good will. Presently after Adrian was confirmed in the Empire, he did write unto the Senate, gratifying their friendly fact, and requesting that Traiane might be collocate amongst the Gods, since he had bene a Prince so diuine, whereto the Senate gladly consented, saying: that although Traiane had finished his life, for euermore in Rome his fame shoulde indure. In memorie of Traiane had overcome the Parthians, they ordeined y^e euery yeare the Parthick playes should be celebrated in Rome, which indured amongst the Romans many yeres: but in fine, they and their playes had an end. Before all thinges, Adrian gaue order, that the body of Traiane might be brought into Italie, where it shoulde be giuen a generous sepulchre, and to effectuate the same, commanded his ashes to be inclosed in a boxe of Onicorne, which also was inclosed with golde, and placed in a pillar of most excellent marble, lined with most rich purple: all which being laden into a gallie, he sent Tatian and Plotina, with the body unto Rome: at Rome went forth to receiue y^e body of Traiane: and as it is sayd and written, there was neuer so muche ioy uttered for any man, that entered being alive: but muche more sorrowe was discovered, for Traianes comming deade. Adrian stayed in Antioche, which is the heade of Syria, partly to assemble the whole armie, and partly to recouer money: for being then winter, he could neyther campe for coldenesse of the weather: eyther marche or iourney for want of money.

At iij.

Adrian

Adrian was there aduertised, howe the Mauritans did despise him, the Sarmatians did mutinate, the Britans did rebell, the Palestines resist, the Aegyptians disobey, and that all the Barbarians were in commotion. Finally, it is to be understood, that vpon the death of Traiane, all people and nations were so scandalized, that it seemed not, but that he left the world without a maister or an owner. Adrian perceiuing the greater part of the Empire in commotion, determined to make them no war, but to intreate them by peace: and for this cause he refused and forsooke all those kingdomes and Prouinces, that lay beyond the river Euphrates, and the river Tygris, which the good Traiane had wonne and conquered: in which conquest he employed his noble person, and gaue ende vnto his honourable life. Vnto all kingdomes and Prouinces, Adrian sent Embassadours, to confederate with some, and to confirme peace with others: and with some he did capitulate thinges so flaunderous, and with so great disaduantage: that it had bene much better to haue raysed warre, then to haue procured a peace so infamous. Parfnapate king of the Parthians, came to complaine vnto Adrian, saying, that the good Traiane had giuen him that kingdom, and crowned him with his owne hands, and now vpon the death of Traiane, they would neyther obey him, or suffer him to liue within the kingdom. Adrian would not, or else durst not, make warres with the Parthians: but gaue vnto Parfnapate, the Seigniozie of certaine countries and Prouinces of Syria, being vacant at that time, as Lorde to intoy the fruites thereof, and as Romaine Pretour to gouerne the people.

When Adrian had obtained the Empire, presently he published and sayd vnto all men, that he wold become a pitifull Prince: and truly, in some pitifull causes, he did shew him selfe to be the sonne of Traiane: but in some rigorous matters, he seemed to be the brother of Nero. A certaine man named Bebius, was Prefect in Rome, who was contrary vnto Adrian, in all thinges that eyther touched his honour or profite: and being counsellled to kill Bebius, for that

that he ceased not to be his aduersarie, made answer: I will not onely permit Bebius to liue, but also the office of Pretour, which hee helde but for a yeare, I will confirme vnto him during his life. Laberius and Frugius, two Romaine Senatours, were banished vnto the Isle of Pontus, whom he commaunded to returne to their houses, and their goodes to be restored them: but the Consul Frugius being mutinous, mouing commotion betwixt Adrian and the Senate, he commaunded to be throtlene alie into Tyber: and obtained no lesse honour, in the executing of the one, then in pardoning the other. Vnto certaine Gentlemen of the armie, that sayde vnto Adrian in times past, that he should be Emperour, he gaue double rewarde: affirming, that he gaue them not for their aduertisement, but for their good will.

CHAP. VII.

Of his entrie into Rome.

Nowe when Summer was come, Adrian parted from Antioche to come to Rome: and lefte for Preposit of Syria, Catalius Seuerus, and toke his way throughe Illyria, and determined to make warre with the Sarmatians, which would not receiue the Ambassadours of peace. Lucius Turbon, that had bene Pretour tenne yeares in Mauritania, came forth to meete him vpon the way, with whome Adrian had great friendship, being a young man, and in house with his Lorde Traiane: presently he made him Pretour of the Prouince of Datia, and Pannonia. At that time Lucius Turbon was in Africa, maister of the horse men, of whome Adrian was aduertised, that he was verie riche, and in greate power throughtout the kingdom, and that he had not obtained all that riches, in the time of warre, but by bribery in time of peace.

¶. iij.

Adrian.

Adrian was not a little grieved, of that which was sayde by Lucius Turbone, because he was his friende, and also seruant vnto Traiane: but all this notwithstanding, he applyed all that he had, vnto the common treasure, and disarmed him of his knighthode. As muche as Adrian did increafe in potencie, so much did his enemies increafe in enuie: in suche manner, that they coulde neyther incline their harts to loue him, eyther yeald their strength to serue him. The case was thus, that Palma, Celsus, Sobaius, and Lucius, Adrian going on hunting, were determined in the middest of the chace, to rid him of his life: wherevpon they were agreed, that in his swiftest pursuit of any wild beast, they would attend him in the most thickest pace or track: & there vnder the colour to misse their leuell at the beast, would shote and kill the Emperour. All these foure were men of noble bloud, and rich in goods, and were called Consulares: because at other times they had bene Consuls: but as their treason was discovered, first by iustice they were beheaded, before Adrian went on hunting. Great was the murmuring and mutinie throughout all Rome, when they vnderstode howe Adrian had executed so cruell iustice, vpon these foure Consulares or noble men: partly for that they helde opinion, that Adrian had raised that quarell againste them: and partly for custome and manner, for that felwe were the chastisements, whiche the good Traiane did execute, but great was the number that receiued pardon. Adrian being aduertised, that for the death of the foure Consulares, all Rome was escandalized, and that for a man renenging and cruell, his person was defamed, determined with all speede to come to Rome, to excuse him selfe of that fault. The affaires of Adrian stood not in so euill estate, as vpon the way, they gaue him aduertisement: which did well appeare, in that the Senate did offer him the triumph due vnto Traiane, being cut off by death to inioy the same: but Adrian refusing, gaue order, that the Image of Traiane shoulde be placed in the triumphant chariote: to the ende that good Traiane should

shoulde not want a triumphe, although but after his death. Presently when Adrian came to Rome, he went to visite the Sepulchre of his Lorde Traiane, where his eyes did shed many teares, and for him did offer vnto the Gods most sumptuous sacrifices. All the Senate being ioyned, and also all the most principal of the people, vnto whome Adrian made a long oration: where in he gaue them to vnderstand of the state of the Empire: and did excuse him selfe of the death of the aforesaide foure Consulares: because the officers of the Senate had made searche and inquisition of the cause, and the Pretors of his armies did execute the sentence. The Senate did offer Adrian the title of Pater patriæ, but he would not receiue it, affirming it to be one of the titles of his lord Traiane: and since he had been a good father, it were great reason he should proue a good sonne. It was a custome in Rome and throughout all Italie, that when their Princes came newely to gouerne the Empire, that all cities and other people shoulde furnishe him with a certeine summe of golde and siluer: with the golde to make a crowne, and the siluer for the seruice of his house: and sometimes they did present so much golde to make the crowne, that the remnant was sufficient to mainteine the warres. Adrian refused not onely this seruice to be demaunded, but also returned that which was brought him: saying, that his crowne should be riche, when his subiectes should be in wealth. The officers of the treasurie, that is to saye, suche as had the collection and keeping of the masse of Rome, had raised greate rentes, daily inuenting newe manner of tributes, in the common wealth: which being knowen vnto Adrian, he commaunded all newe impositions to be removed from the common wealth, and the inuentors thereof to be displaced from their offices. Generally the Romans complained vnto Adrian of the dearth of victuals: so that with he provided for prouision of wheat from Sicily, wines from Candie, and oyle from Spaine: and farther, gaue such prices vnto the same, and all other victuals, that the poore might

might feede with the riche. He did promise and sweare in the Senate to put no Senatour vnto death, although he were culpable, without the accused should first be heard, and his cause considered by all the Senate: and truly this othe did excuse Adrian of many executions, and was no lesse occasion that the Senatours committed many faultes. Princes haue to consider what they sweare and promise: for, from that day wherein Princes shal vnablen the selues, to punish the vice and sinne, from thenceforth their vassals shal followe wickednesse. In the yere that Adrian entered Rome, all thinges were deare, and the people not founde as in health: who vsing greate magnificence, commaunded much money to be giuen to the poore of the common wealth: in such wise, that it was not founde that any died for hunger, either suffered any extreme necessitie.

There were many that had bene banished, and diuerse in prison for debt due vnto the Fiscall: that is to saye, vnto his chamber. Adrian gaue commaundement by publique proclamation, that all such debtes should be absolved, and that for any such debte, none should be runnagates, either kept in prison. Adrian did derogate the law & custome of his predecessours, which is to wheet, that y gods of the condemned, should be for the Prince, which he commaunded from thenceforth to be employed not to his chamber, but to the comfort of the common wealth: for he saide and helde opinion, that the Iudge should neuer be grieved, to punish the offendours, when he should remember, to inherite a share of the offendours goods. He extremely delighted when any person came to craue, and much more did reioyce, if he had to giue: but if by chaunce he had not to satisfie his demaund, at the least he gaue him a friendly answer. From the time that Adrian was in possession of y Empire: he was neuer heard to say, or name, Traiane: but, my Lord Traiane.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the good conditions and inclinations
of Adrian.

with

With much diligence and no lesse secrecie, Adrian inquired, what life the Senatours did leade, and what exercise they vsed: and such as he found poore and vertuous, he augmented their patrimonie: and such as he found riche and vicious, he found meane to depriue them from y Senate. Adrian was a Prince, verie skilfull, and muche considerate in punishing his officers and sernautes, that is to saye: he kept secreete from the people the causes why he remoued any person from his office. And further, if he displaced any person from his commoditie, he did not forget otherwise to recompence him, in such maner, that if he did chastice them, he did not dishonour them. Many times, did Adrian speake these wordes: Whome I shal see esteemed and worshipped in the common wealth, I wil rather determin to take away his hed then his honour. The rites which the god Traiane left in many partes of Italie, for y breeding of children, the sustaining of widowes, & the marriage of Orphans, he did not only confirme, but also made better. All the seruants of Traiane he did aduance to better offices: & such as were not meete for offices, he gaue them money. Adrian commaunded serch to be made, how many noble men were falne into pouertie: & such as were decayed by mischaunce, he relieued: & such as procured pouertie by vice, he gaue them leaue to endure necessitie. He gaue help to al y Romaine widowes to marrie their daughters, & he was not more boistifull in giuing relief vnto y daughters, then he was an enemie to succour the sonnes: for he helde opinion, that, that young man deserued not to be married, that with his handes did not obtaine a marriage. By thre dayes space, he did celebrate the feast of the god Genius: that is to saye, the daye of his birthe: and commaunded vpon those dayes, to giue pifances vnto all y people, and he with all the Senatours and nobles did eate and banquet in his imperiall palace: the cost whereof did not amount vnto so little, but as they were thre, if they had bene sixe, the rentes of the whole Empire had been spent, and parte of their treasure.

By

By the space of five continuall dayes he did cause them to represent the game of sword players: and the people craued certeine other playes, which he would not consent: not for that he delighted not therein, but to giue them to vnderstand in Rome, that it appertained vnto Princes, as much to moderate their pleasures, as to giue order for thinges of importance. Before Adrian was Emperour, he was thise Consul, for which cause he made diuers Romanes thre times Consuls: and whereas some were offended, for want of like fauour, he did answer: Such as did exceede mee in merite, ought to be equall with mee in dignitie. Within the compasse of Rome, neuer before the dayes of Adrian, were permitted more then two Consuls: the one to gouerne the common wealth, the other to go to the warres: but Adrian did adde and create a thirde Consul: for that if y one should be sicke, and the other resident in the warres, the common wealth shoulde not remaine without an head. Tulinus a noble knight of Rome, Adrian did create Senatour, and gaue him the ensignes of Consul, wherewith the whole Senate was offended: affirming, that the Emperour ought or might not create in such manner: partly, because Tulinus was not of deserving, and partly, for that the aduise of the Senate shoulde haue bene used therein. Adrian was displeased with these wordes of the Romanes, and from thence forth did vse more libertie in reparting offices, and lesse companye in determining causes. He helde Seuerianus in greate veneration, which had married his sister, vnto whome he gaue both honour and great rewardes: and at all times, when Seuerianus came vnto his chamber to conferre, and to vnderstand his pleasure, Adrian came forth to meete and receiue him at the doore. Although Seuerianus came to visite Adrian, and Adrian came forth to receiue Seuerianus, yet auuncient and very mortall was the hatred betwixt them: for in this case, either of them did vtter and discouer, to be possessed with a mosse vile intent: for that Seuerianus did traualle to depriue Adrian from Empire and

and honour, and Adrian with no lesse facilitie did take away his life. When Adrian was in Rome, at the least he went thise a weeke vnto the Senate: and if he were either sicke, or muche busied, they did repaire vnto his presence: in such maner, that nothing of importance did passe in the Senate, wherein they did not vse his iudgement. Adrian was of familiar conuersation with his speciall friendes, and with his particular seruants, with whome he went to eate in their gardeines, to fishe at riuers, to hunt in the fieldes, and all other such like pastimes. Naturally he was giuen to haue compassion of the sicke, and herein he did neither consider whether they were friends or foes: for that indifferently he did visite them, and at his owne charges did prouide for them. He did not onely visite the sicke, but also the olde men, decrepite with age: of whome at large he woulde inquire of the yerres that they had liued, the kingdomes they had trauelled, the daungers they had passed, the enimies which they had helde, & the necessities that they had endured, in suche wise, that many times, of the things which they had saide, of times past, he tooke example for the time present. Adrian was a most singular friende of vertuous men, and wise Philosophers, and neuer wanted their companie, either in warre or peace: because of the vertuous he learned how to liue, and of the Philosophers howe to gouerne.

Turbone, maister of the horse men had a sonne with Adrian, sufficiently valiant, and with Adrian very priuate: but toglytly w this, he held him for presumptuous in speech, and couetous in dealings, because all which Adrian did at his request and suite, he solde it all for money: the truthe of this case being knowen, Adrian receiued therof so great displeasure, that presently he commaunded the young man to be apprehended, and that all things which by bribery he had purloined shoulde be taken from him, and restozed vnto the owners, and to be transported as a banished man to the Isle of Pontus: vnto whome Adrian saide, of this offence, thou shalt remaine chastised, and I warre

warmed for ever more, to shewe ouermuch and extreme fauour vnto my seruauit, whereby to conuert loue into pride, or to sell fauour for conuise.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Of the maner which Adrian vsed with the men of warre.

When Adrian parted from Almaine to come to Rome, not as then determined to haue stayed long there: but the occasion of his staye, was, for that the good Traiane, in his latter yeres, was detained so long time in the warres of Asia, & Europa, that the common wealthes of Italie were growen to greate and ouermuch libertie. Adrian departing from Rome, came streight vnto Gallia Transalpina: not to conquer but to visite the same. The frenchemen did much reioyce at his coming, and in euery prouince did him great seruice, because Adrian was the first Romaine Prince that euer entred Fraunce in peace, for that all his predecessours brake in by violent hostilitie. Personally visiting all Gallia, wherein he did erect newe buildinges, repaired the olde, reedified temples, reformed priestes, set at libertie certeine gentlemen, gaue giftes vnto the people, pardoned some offences, and punished others: finally all his dooers, were gratefull vnto the citizens, & profitable vnto the common wealth. The affaires of Fraunce being set in order, once more he returned to passe y Alps, and toke his way into Almaine, without any disposition to make warre, but to procure peace: for that Adrian naturally was giuen friendly with all men to haue peace, whiche if they would not accept, he was not after easie to intreate.

In the time that Adrian had most peace, then did he exercise his men of warre, as if he had bene amongst his enemies: and for this cause he helde opinion, that all Princes did craue his peace, for that he was neuer vntreacie to make

make warre. Adrian inuented many deuises, wherein his knightes might exercise their strength, as wagers to runne, to wers, and sortes of wood, and earth, to assault, marche tenne against tenne in combat: he sought out strong places to practise the arte of mining, prouoked them to go to wassling, and brought them to riuers to learne to swim: finally, he held them so occupied, that they desired rather to fight an whole day in earnest, then so many dayes in iest. Also Adrian did vse to fede of the common victuals of the camp, that is to saye, gosse baken, rat eaten chesse, powdered beefe, and barley bread: and if any thinge were best for his owne person, more delicate then y rest, he made suche diuision, that the least parte came to him selfe. What more or lesse, he alwayes did weare some armour: and if by chaunce he found any gentleman vnarmed, presently he was checked of his wages: affirming, that the man that goeth vnarmed, ought not to be intreated and honoured as a gentlemā. In the armies, amongst the greater or lesse, better or worse, their worke or exercise was equally diuided: whiche is to wete, when the time was to drawe, all did hale and drawe: and when the time was to dig, all without exception at their turne, did dig and mine: at the time of watching in their course, euery man did watche: in these trauels he did no more excuse him selfe then others: for at his turne, he did both watche and dig in the mine with his owne handes. He had not, neither consented in the warres, the vse of high tables to fede on, either portals to passe the time, neither canes to cole or recreate, either warmed water to bathe, neither cokerie or dressing of meate, either selling of sweete oymments: for he helde opinion, that the good and valiant soldiers, did not annoynt them selues, but with the blood of enemies. Adrians garments were not curious or costlye, but very cleanly, wherunto he was addicted, both in diet, and apparell: and after a maner he did abhorre suche men as were not nete and fine: affirming, that filthie men be alwayes of drouse iudgements.

In the warres he did neuer weare silk, purple, or riche vesture, either buttons, or agglets of golde, or his dagger, sword, or armour gilt: but notwithstanding verie fine and strong. When any was notified in the warres, of valiant and doubtles deedes, presently he did notifie him, with great and bountifull rewardes: in such manner, that he did not deferre to recompence at Rome any seruice don in the warres. When he trauailed through mountaines, most times he did alight to bring other men on footes, and did marche xv. or xx. miles in his armour: and this he did, to keepe their horses freshe and lusty, if they should hap to encounter with the enimie. He did alwayes lodg with in the campe, and ordinarily he went from tent to tent, to visite the wounded, and with the whole and sound to haue conuersation. Adrian was so familiar with his men of warre, that he called verie many by their names, and knew all men by their gesture: in such wise, that no enimie or straunger, might enter his campe that to him was unknowen. When a horsemens come was vacant in the warres, the captaines sought out such as should succede: but Adrian in his owne person would examine him, and this he did, to knowe his face, and try his strength. Such as he did elect tribunes, or captaines of his armies, were verie valiant, but not couetous: and ioynntly therewith, he admitted not young men without beardes, either olde men broken or decayed: doubting, in too much youth, want of gouernement: and in too much age, strength to fight. He made good paye vnto his men of warre, streightly forbidding his captaines to imbezill any wages, or to take any waye present giuing vnto the souldiers: and this Adrian did, to auoide necessitie in the one, and couetise in the other. He did prohibite by a publique lawe, that none should carrie vnto the warres any superfluous thing, and that none should presume to buy or sell any thing that was not necessarie. Very diligent to furnishe his camps with victuals, which being brought vnto the campe, he did so prisse them, that the buyer was not robbed, either the

seller

seller defrauded. Imitating Vegetius, Adrian did write a booke, wherein he did instruct the captaines, howe they should fight: and an order, how tribunes should gouerne the armies: to conformance whereof he made many excellent lawes, which for long time were obserued of the Romaine Princes. In this case, of order, prouision, and correction of the men of warre, they were onely three Princes that attained vnto the chiefe perfection thereof: that is to saye, Augustus, Traiane, and Adrian, because all other Princes, helde men of warre not to defend, but to dissipate the common wealth.

CHAP. X.

¶ Of the actes that Adrian did in Englande, Fraunce, and Spaine.

ALL the time that Adrian was in Almaine, he did mosse occupie him selfe in refozming his men of warre into good customes and order, which he did not without greate prudence, after the manner of a good mariner, whiche in time, when the Sea is calme, doeth dress and mende his sailes, & order his anchors against the storme and soudain chaunces that may follooe in time to come.

From Almaine, Adrian came vnto greate Britaine, whiche is now called England, and there founde peace, as in Fraunce, which was then holden for a greate marriage: because from the time of Iulius Caesar, whiche did first conquer the same, vnto the dayes of Adrian, they were neuer without warres with the frenche men, or rebelling against the Romaines. Presently vpon his entrie into Britaine, he sought curiously to be informed of the lawes they helde, and of the customes they vsed: which being perused and examined, some he did allowe, and some he did remoue and make frustrate: especially, he did abhilate that lawe, whereby the man should holde ii. wiues, and the woman. vii. husbandes. When Iulius Caesar did

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conquer the Ilande of England, he brought many people out of Italie to inhabite that countrie: and although the native, with the straunger, helde no warre, yet liued they not in perfect peace: for the Britans did terme y Romaines newe come men, and the Romaines did call them Barbarians. Adrian finding that no friendship might be framed by prayer, or amendment by correction, deuised to diuide the kingdome in the middell: and the case was thus: that in the middes of the kingdome, he made a wall from Sea to Sea, a worke most strange, wherein this Prince did imploy great treasure. Adrian being resident in Britaine, was aduertised from Rome of the want of good gouernement that was vsed in his wifes house, by the occasion of certeine Romaines, which aduentured to accompany the Emperesse: whose conuersation was moze to the preiudice of his fame, then to the pzoite of his seruice. Septicius Prefectus, and Sertonius Tranquillus, which at that time were Secretaries vnto the Senate: these & others grewe very familiar with the Emperesse Sabina: whome Adrian sent commaundement to be depriued of their offices, and to be banished Rome. Sabina, Adrians wife, was holden to be franke of speache, and of life somewhat licentious. Adrian did greatly abhorre to haue Sabina vnto his wife: and would saye, not in secrete, but openly, that if he were a common person, he would haue bene diuorced, for that in her conuersation shee was presumptuous, & in life loose & dissolute. Adrian was much inclined to vnderstand, not onely the conditions & inclinations of his friends but also of the manner which they vsed to liue in their houses: for the vnderstanding wherof, he woulde inquire of the seruants, slaues and labourers that brought them victuals, what they did eate, and what they did drinke, & what their maisters spent in their houses. Sabina wife vnto Adrian, did write a certeine letter vnto a Romaine gentleman, complaining that he would not come to visite her, thzough y pleasures of Britaine, & newe lones in that countrey y he had taken in hand, which letter happening by chaunce into the handes of Adrian, & the knight vnder-

stand

standing therof, neither went to Rome or abode in Britan. All things set in order in greate Britan, Adrian had intelligence, that in Gallia Transalpina, which nowe is named swete Fraunce, a popular sedition was raised, in such euil maner, that if it were not pzeently cut off, it might break out into a long & cruel warre. All the contention was raised vpon certein bounds & pastures, in a place called Apim: Pzeently Adrian passed into Gallia, & personally went to see y marks & bounds therof: & the one & the other heard, he did diuide those bounds & limits equally betwixt them. When as a Romaine saide vnto Adrian, y it was the office of a poze Judge, & not of a mightie Emperour, he answered: I had rather diuide boundes in peace, then conquer countries with warre. Pzo, when Adrian would departe from Fraunce, he receiued newes from Rome, howe Plotina wife vnto Traiane was dead: and as shee had been his onely mistresse, & his special friend, he felt her death so sensibly y besides sighing & weeping, he grewe so extremly sorrowful, y he did not eate in long time. He staid in the place where he receiued those newes many moneths, and pzeently did write vnto y Senate, y Plotina should be adozed amongst y Goddes: and on the other parte, he commaunded cosly & generous sacrifices to be offered for her: he did edifie vnto her honour & perpetual memorie, a temple neare vnto Mansin, which he erected vppon pillars of marucilous marble, & did endue with great riches. The affaires of Fraunce being dispatched, he came by y Pyrine hills, into Spaine, & staid a whole Winter in the citie of Taragon: which in those aunient times, was the most strong, riche, & also most esteemed in all Spaine. When the Emperour Octavius did conquer Cantabria, he did bulde in Taragon, a most noble house, which by the antiquitie therof was much decayed: y emperour Adrian at his owne cost, comaunding to be reedified in such wise, y by repairing the decayed edificies, he renued there y name of Romanes. The imperiall house being made, Adrian kept court there with all the mightie and noble men of Spaine: where and with whome he made manye and good lawes: and in

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„ especiall, he commaunded that the father whiche had but
 „ one sonne, should commit the same vnto the warres, if he
 „ had twaine, the second should be committed vnto science,
 „ and the thirde shoulde learne some occupation in the com-
 „ mon wealth.

The Spaniards complained, that the shippes of Italie
 did transport many thinges out of Spaine, that is to saye,
 golde, siluer, silke, oyle, yarne, wheate, and wine: and out
 of Italie, they brought nothing into Spaine: whereupon
 Adrian commaunded, that no straunge ship shoulde lade
 any thing out of Spaine. Adrian gaue greate rewardes
 vnto many, and some for company, he caused to goe with
 him, and others some he gaue offices bothe by Sea and
 land, of great honour: and generally, he gaue money vnto
 all cities, to repaire their decayed walles, in suche wise,
 that all Spaine, of him, helde them selues right well con-
 tented. Wherein Taragon, Adrian walking alone in a
 garden, by chaunce, a young man being madde, brake
 forth vpon him with sword & dawe: Adrian, although
 without armour, did take away his sword, without com-
 maundement of correction, either to him or his maister, &
 also with great pitie, prouided for his cure: of which deed
 Adrian was praised for valiant and pitifull. Also in the
 prouince of Taragon, they had cotention for their bounds,
 wherein Adrian prouided to plant lande markes of stone,
 after the maner of pillars, to the ende, that they shoulde
 neither be stolne or chaunged.

CHAP. XI.

¶ Howe Adrian did passe into Asia, and of the
 things that chaunced there.

All the prouinces of Spaine being visited, Adrian made
 his nauigation, by the Sea Mediterrane vnto the Ile
 of Sicyl, where he mounted the hill Aetna, to behold the
 marueilous thinges therein contained: from whence he
 desc-

descended moze in feare and abashed, then either intru-
 ted or satisfied. Adrian being descended from the hill
 Aetna, astonied, wearied and also derided, stode not in
 that kingdome, but to visite the workes of the good Tra-
 iane, which he did amplifie with buydinges, and indued
 with patrimonies. Adrian being resident in Sicyl, vnder-
 stode that Afterlike the greatest lord of Germanie was
 dead, in whose place he presently created a king, whom he
 sent to gouerne the same, bothe well receiued, and better
 obeyed: because the Germanes helde them selues escan-
 dalized, in that they had not kinges to gouerne them, but
 Consuls to chastice them.

The Mauritans, and the Numidians being diuided
 in cruell dissention, and vnderstanding that Adrian was
 in Sicyl, ready to passe into Africa: amongst them selues
 they cut off all causes of warre, and concluded an assured
 peace. At that time also the Parthians soudainly did arme
 them selues, came into the fielde, made captaines, and
 fortified their frontiers: and brought their seigniozie to
 be ouer the Romaines, and not the Romaines ouer the
 Parthians. Adrian being aduertised of this commotion,
 prepared a greate armie to passe into Asia, and also did
 write vnto the Parthians, giuing to vnderstand, that he
 helde them as his friendes, and the Senate esteemed them
 as brethren, and not as bassals: wherewith the Barbari-
 ans were so muche satisfied, that presently they left their
 armour, and proclaimed peace throughout the lands. Not-
 withstanding, he was aduertised of the Parthians retire,
 he alwayes continued his nauigation into Asia: and des-
 cended first in Achaia, and entred Elusin, a famous citie
 of that prouince: and leading a great armie, & possessing
 but little money, he seized the sacred thinges of the tem-
 ples, saying, that he did it not, as a Romain Prince, but as
 a Grecian: for that Hercules and Philip being Greeke
 Princes, had first done and attempted the same. He a-
 lone did enter the temples of Asia, which was holden for
 great ballantness: because without armour, he entred a-
 mong

mongest the armed Priests; and being demanded, why he would enter to robbe those temples alone and unarmed, answered: because, from our barbarous enemies we take by violence, but from the Gods by request.

Adrian departed also vnto Athens, and curiously did consider the order of their studies, and the manner of their life; and saide, that in Athens, there was nothing perfect, but Agonata the sword-player: because he had greater readinesse and skill to play with the sword, then the Philosophers in teaching Sciences: Whiche notwithstanding, he did greatly honour the Philosophers; and to some townes, he gaue great liberties: from thence, he returned to Rome, where he stayed but to visite, to honour, and also to bewaile and mourne vpon the tumbes of Plotina, which being finished, Adrian againe went into Sicily, and from thence into Africa, where he did visit many townes and cities, reedified certeine buyldings, banished diuers Numidians, and also Mauritanes, for their mutinies. From thence he did passe once more into Asia, straight vnto Athens, where he finished a certeine temple which he had begonne, dedicating the same vnto the God Iupiter, wherein he did ingraue the Image of Traiane, & did paint with his owne handes the figure of Plotina, his moste especiall soueraigne ladye and mistresse. The greatest exercise that Adrian did vse in Asia, was in buylding, repairing, and consecrating temples: wherein he did place his name, and paint with the pencill, or else in Alabaster did graue his figure.

Adrian feasted and made a greatesse banquet vnto king Cossroe, at that time king of Parthians, & also did restore him his daughter, which was committed for hostage vnto the good Traiane, and a litter curiously wrought with silver, golde and Unicorn, and gaue him also many other iewels. Many kinges of Asia and other greatesse Princes, came to visite and to honour Adrian, who gaue them all so noble enterテインement, and so highly rewarded them, that greatesse was the honour and magnificence he obtained amongest

mongest them. Pharasimachus king of the Albans refusinge to visite the Emperour Adrian, and to reuende the league made betwixt him and the good Traiane: not many dayes after, Adrian wanted not occasion to dispossesse him of his estate, and to banishe him all Asia, constrained thereby to craue vpon his knees, which would haue been giuen him, sitting in his chayre: Adrian, traueiling and iourneying throughout Asia, visiting his presidents, procurores, and chiefe officers, finding amongest them faultes of great enormitie, did punishe the same with moste eruell chastisements. The cause is not vnknowne of the displeasure that Adrian did beare vnto Antioche, which hatred was so greatesse, that he traueiled to diuide Syria from Phoenicia, to the ende that Antioche should not be the head of so many prouinces. Visiting also the whole countrie of Arabia, he came vnto the renowned citie of Pelusio, onely to visite the sepulture of the great Pompeius, which he reuined and enriched, and also did offer greatesse and sumptuous sacrifices, in the honour of the great Pompeius: where of the Romaine people being aduertised, receiued not small delight. He did not onely honour the sepulture of Pompeius, but also gaue greatesse rewardes vnto the people of Pelusio, because they had that sepulchre in reuerence, placing vpon the sepulchre with his owne handes this verse as followeth: *Ossa viri magni, tenui quam blanda sepulchro.*

Howe small a tumb of lime and stones,

Conteines a valiant warriours bones:

CHAP. XII.

Of the great liberalitie that Adrian vsed, and some cruelties that he committed.

Of the things, wherein the Emperour Adrian deserved most iustly to be praised was, that al the he blessed great

great magnificence and liberalitie: for that naturally, in receiving he was a niggard: but in giuing very bountifull. There was not euer any thing demanded, that he gaue not: if it were not prevented by some others suite, which alwayes he did recomfort with hope for time to come. The rewardes of his noblenesse, was the gift of towne, cities, castles, provinces, kingdomes, mountaines, riuers, flockes of heardes, salt marishes, milles, offices: and not onely such as hapned in the gouernement of the common wealth: but also he gaue the hordes out of his stable, the garments for his person, the prouision for his dispences, and the money for his chamber: in such wise, that to deliuer others from necessitie, he brought him selfe in to want of prouision. Adrian in his life was noted of diuers weaknesses and defections, which were both coloured and couered, with his large and bountifull giftes. Great were the rewardes that he gaue vnto Epitius, and Eliodorus philosophers: but much more was his liberalitie towardes Phauorinus, because he both gaue him great goodes, and honour in the common wealth. His custome was, when he sent for any to serue him in the warres, to giue him all things necessarie for y same, that is to say, armour to fight, & money to spend. Adrian being aduertised of a noble gentleman of Numidia, named Malacon, a man both valiant & warlike: who refusing to receiue the vsual rewardes that Adrian gaue vnto suche as did accompanie him in warres, sayde vnto him: It is more reason that I should preuent thee, in doing mine office, then thou shouldst precede mee in doing thy dutie: which is to say, that before thou beginne to fight, I should beginne to gratifie thee: for in the end, it is much more that thou doest for me, in aduenturing thy life, then I in rewarding thee with my goodes. Many times Adrian would boast him selfe, that he coulde neuer remember that he had eaten alone, but alwayes did eate in the companie of philosophers that disputed in philosophie: eyther else of captiues, that did talke and conferre in matters of warre.

He

He was neate in his apparell, curious and delicate in his diet. Examining the order of the diet of his household, and finding the prouision prouided for the honour thereof, to be imbeziled and purloyned by officers, he commaunded them to be whipt, and turned out of his gates: for notwithstanding, he had a noble mynde, to giue a prouince for a reward, he had not patience to suffer or endure, the deceit or stealth of a pennie. Adrian was a man both seuer, gladsome, graue, courteous, pleasant, suffering, rashe, patient, furious, a sauer, liberall, a disssembler, pitifull, & cruell: finally, he was variable in his vices, and inconstant in vertues: because he did not long abstaine from euill, eyther long continue in doing good. Adrian vnto his friendes, was bothe gratefull and unkinde: that is to say, he gaue them much goodes, and did not much esteeme their honour. Great inconuenience did followe the Emperour Adrian, for his infidelitie and want of faith vnto his friendes: which did most clearely shewe it selfe in Tavianus, Nietus, Seuerus, and Septitius: whom at one time he helde for friends, & after did persecute them as enemies. Eudemius a noble Gentleman of Rome, he was so great a friend with Adrian, that he offered sacrifices vnto the gods to giue him the Empire: and after Adrian did beare him so great hatred, that he did persecute him, not onely to cast him out of Rome, but also vntill he had brought him to extreme pouertie. Polenus and Marcellus, were of Adrian so euil handled and persecuted, that they chose rather to dye with their owne handes: then to liue vnder his gouernement. Eliodorus, a most famous man in letters, both Greeke and Latine, was not onely of Adrian persecuted, but also put to death, and tozned in pieces: whose death was much bewailed for that he was profitable vnto the whole comon wealth. Oluidius, Quadratus, Catalius, & Turbon, auncient Consuls, were by Adrian persecuted, although not put to death, because every one seeking to saue his life, were banished Rome and all Italic. The noble Consul Seuerianus, husbände vnto Sabina, sister vnto

G. b.

Adrian

„ Adrian, of the age of a hundred and ninetie yeares, was
 „ constrained to dye, for no more, but for that he had repo-
 „ sed to haue liued the death of thirtene Emperours, & that
 „ if Adrian should dye first, it should make by the number
 „ of xiiij. the which, when Adrian vnderstode, he rather de-
 „ termined to take him from amongst the liuing, then he
 „ should reckon him amongst the deade. In all things Adri-
 an was very wel learned: that is to say, reading, writing,
 singing, painting, fighting, hunting, playing, and disputing:
 but that he had therewith a tache or a fault: which was,
 that if he knewe muche, he presumed much, wherein he
 was noted of all men, bycause he scozned all men. After he
 entered into Aegypt, he gaue him selfe vnto Astrologie:
 and held for custome yearely to write out of that science, of
 al things that should happen that yeare: which also he did
 in the yeare that he dyed, but obtained not the knowledge
 thereof.

Adrian in one thing did seeme to excell, in that he
 neuer desired the knowledge of any facultie, art, or science:
 but that he procured to be singular. He ouercame many
 warres with armes, but he did appeale and cut off many
 more with giftes: because vnto diuers peoples, cities, and
 towne, he gaue libertie and priuileges, and to his Lords
 and viceroyes, he gaue great rewardes. Although in some
 particular things, touching both friendes and enemies, he
 shewed him selfe both affectionate, and also passionate:
 vniuersally, as touching the weale of the common welth,
 Adrian was alwayes friend in ministring iustice. When
 there happened any graue matters, at the souden, he wold
 furiously be altered: but at the time of iudgement and de-
 terminatio, seriously he did both consider & examine them.
 He did sildome determine matters without counsel, and
 to this end chiefly vsed the aduice of Siluius and Nerati-
 us, the most learned of that age, and approued by the Se-
 nate. Naturally, he was of an vnquiet heart, and of con-
 dition intermedling. It did happen vnto him many times
 in reading of histories, when he found of any place or col-
 lerie,

trie, that was possessed of any extremitie, or singularitie,
 that he could not come to the viewe thereof, with extreme
 desire, he did many times growe both sicke and sorrowfull.
 Notwithstanding he was large and of great magnanimi-
 tie with Philosophers, with countries, with men of warre,
 and with his friends: much more was his magnificence to
 the ministers of iustice: and being demaunded of Fauori-
 nus, why he was so boistifull vnto them, answered: I make
 the ministers of iustice riche: bycause, by robberie of
 iustice, they shall not make other men poore.

CHAP. XII.

Of the lawes that Adrian made.

Many and right necessarie lawes were made by A-
 drian, whiche were approued by the Senate, and re-
 ceigned of the common wealth, and long time obserued.
 He did ordeine, that if any man would remoue from one
 citie to an other, that at his owne libertie he might sell
 his house, but not to aduenture to pull it downe, eyther to
 sel or make profite of the stufte therof: bycause the autho-
 ritie of a common wealth is impayred, when the buil-
 dings be ruinated. He did also ordeine, that when any
 man was condemned to dye for offences of great enor-
 mie, and his goodes confiscated, that his children, shoulde in-
 ioy the tenth part of those goodes: in suche wise, that for
 that, whiche was taken from them, they had to beuaile
 the offence of their fathers, and for that which was gi-
 uen them, they shoulde feele, and also commende the cle-
 mencie of the Prince.

Also there were certaine cases forbidden, in whiche if
 any man did fall, or incurre, he was accused as if he
 had committed great treason againste the estate Royall
 of

of the Prince : all whiche Adrian did remoue and adnihilate : affirming, that those lawes, were but of small seruice, to the behoufe of the Prince, and to the great offence of the common wealth. Also the Romaine Princes did vse to inherite the goods of straungers: wherein Adrian did ordeine, that the children, or the next of the kinne should enioye the same. Also he ordeined, that what so ever he were, that founde hid treasure, in his owne inheritance, should enioy the whole : and if it were founde in an other mans inheritance, the owner thereof should haue the one moitie : and if it were founde in publike or common place, that then it should be equally parted with the Confiscatoz. Also he ordeined, that no man what so euer, of his own authoritie should kill his slaue, for any offence: but to be remitted vnto the Iudge, deputed by the Prince. Also he made a lawe of reformation, both for eating of superfluous meates, and also for wearing of garments, eyther too many, or ouer costly. Also he did ordeine, that none what so euer, should goe or be carried in a litter: and one whiche he had, he commaunded for example, to be burnt, in the market place. He also commaunded that Consuls, and Senatours, within the compasse of Rome, should weare their gownes, whiche was a garment of peace. He also ordeined, that yong men that wanted their parentes, should haue tutoz vnto the age of fise and twentie yeares: although they were married. He also did ordeine, that no slaue should be solde, eyther man or woman, to any ruffian, iester, or iuggler: affirming the possession of slaues, to be most vniust, vnto suche as wander in idlenesse all the dayes of their life. Also he did ordeine, that merchants, or suche as dealt with exchaunge, that bzake their credite, or were bankrupts without iust cause, but only of couetousnesse, by defraude to inrich them selues: to be set vpon the pillozie in the market place, and afterwarde to be banished Rome for euermore. He did ordeine, that none what so euer, should suffer execution within the citie of Rome: affirming, that so generous a citie, and consecrate vnto the
Gods,

Gods, were not conuenient to be defiled with the bloude of wicked men. Also he did ordeine, that men and women should haue their seuerall bathes, and that who so euer should enter into the forbidden place, to suffer death for the same. Also he did ordaine, that neyther for the Prince or Consuls, any victuals should be taken from any man: but that euery man might sell to whome he would, where he would, and how he might. He did ordeine, that no woman should aduerture to heale with words, eyther that any man should presume to cure with copound medicines: but to perfourme all their cures, with simple hearbes. In buildings he did chiefly imitate his Lord Traiane: that is to say, that in all countries, Prouinces, and kingdomes, where he had bene, he erected many and very famous buildings: where in it is to be noted, that he neuer placed his owne name, but in the temple of Traiane. In Rome, in a manner he wholly renued the temple named Pantheus, dedicated vnto the Goddesse Berecynthia, and where all the Gods were honoured. The fildes of Mars in olde time was compassed, and by great antiquitie the buildings falne flat vnto the ground: wherein Adrian did not only renue the decayed wals, but also did furnish y same w very stately buildings. He edified the reall palace named Neptunus, he enlarged the palace of Augustus, he reedified the bath of Tyberius, he much aduanced the temple of Titus: in all these edifices, he placed the names of the Princes that in times past built them, and not his owne name whiche had reedified them. From the foundation he built a stately bzidge, which was afterwards named Adrians bzidge. He made also for him selfe a sepulchre, ioyning vnto y riuer Tyber, y stones whereof were bzought from India, and the workemen out of Greece. He translated the temple of the Goddesse of good Fortune, and the figure of Decian the artificer that was placed therein: that was of so great weight, that hardly foure & twentie Cliphants might remoue y same, the whiche figure was dedicated vnto the Sunne: Adrian did erect one other to be dedicated vnto the Moone,
of

of no lesse weight or riches then the other: whereof the great Polydore was workman. He built in Rome a certaine buileing, which many yeares after was named, the mole of Adrian: and at these dayes is called, the castle of of Saint Angelo. He remoued many riuers out of their chanelles to water the fieldes, bzought many fountaines, for prouision of cities. In Greece he edified a citie, which in time past, was named Adrianopolis. In the kingdome of Palestine, he reedified the great citie Hierusalem, which had bene destroyed by Titus and Vespasian, and gaue it for name, Elia, for that his owne name was Elnus Adrianus.

CHAP. XIII.

Of some of his gracious and pythic sentences.

The Emperour Adrian was a Prince, not only sharpe of iudgement, and prouident in his affaires, but also of great vzbantie, and gracious in speache. And the case was thus, that Fauorinus a very friende to Adrian, hauing an olde house, at the enterie whereof, he had rayfed a stately porche paynted white, he sayde vnto him: This house of thine, seemeth a gilded pill, whiche outwardly giueth pleasure, but within is full of bitterness. An other friende of Adrians, named Siluius, very blacke of face, and of euill shape of body, and comming on a certaine day vnto the Palace, all clad in white: Adrian sayde vnto those that were present: That blacke face with that white garment, seemeth no other but a flye drowned in a sponesfull of mylke. The Emperour Adrian, vppon a time from his Palace, behelde a Senatour, in a long blacke gowne, wearing vpon the same a short crimson cloake in graine:

and

and demaunding, why he did weare such apparell in that place: the Senatour answered. Syr, I walke here with this red cloake, to see if my good hap may chaunce to fish some faire Ladie. Wherevnto Adrian readily answered: Thou seemest rather a red worme to fish frogs, then as a man enamoured to fish Ladies. A certaine person with a hoarie heade, crauing a rewarde, whiche at that time the Emperour denyed: the sayde hoare headed fellowe, remembzng him selfe, pouling his heade, and shauing his bearde, came againe vnto the Emperour, to renue his suite: and Adrian beholding howe he was altered, made fresh, and growne young, did answer: That which now thou crauest, I denyed vnto thy father. They helde in Rome many fierce beastes, to magnifie a daye of greate feasting: and when certaine Senatours sayde vnto Adrian, that it was somewhat late, and highe time to go chase the beastes, he made answer: Ye might better haue sayd, to be chaced of them, then the beastes to be chaced of men: for if there be ten that dare abide them, there be ten mylians that runne away.

There was in Rome, a certaine man named Enatius, somewhat entered in age, and of naturall condition, mutinous, ambitious, impoztune, intermedling, quarellous, & full of garboyle: and being aduertised that Enatius was deade, he fell into a greate laughter, and sware, that he could not a little maruell, howe he coulde intend to dye: considering his great businesse both night and daye. A certaine auncient citizen comming vnto the Emperour Adrian, for certaine suites and causes propounding his demaunde, and also replying an answer without intermission, remouing without all manner, any meane for the Emperour to speake, answered: Friende, if thou feede on both cheekes, we may not cate both together: Surely, it was an answer very saype, and of great vzbantie: for, thereby he gaue him to vnderstande, that if he both propounde and answer, he could not giue him iustice.

There

There was a Senatour in Rome, named Fabius Cato, of auncient yeares, and amongst the people, in great credite : but toytly therewith he was a man of a small stature, which would sone be offended, and as sone be pleased: vnto whome on a time Adrian sayde : Since your chimney is so small, you must beware to lay much wood vpon the fire : for otherwise it will be alwayes smoakie.

CHAP. XV.

Of the things that he did woorthy prayse, and some other things worthy dispraise,

The Emperour Adrian, did vse and intreate such as did serue him, very well and with great affection : but he might not indure them, to presume to be ouer pzimate : for he would say, that he held them not to commaund him, but to serue him : and grewe not a little displeased, with such as were not moderate in their deedes, and courteous in their wordes. Being in Spaine in the citie of Taragon, he behelde in a garden, one of his meane seruants, walking betwixt two Senatours : vnto whome he commaunded to be giuen a great blowe, with this aduertisement : The Emperour commandeth this blow to be giuen thee, bycause thou shalt be ashamed to presume to walke, with such as thou art bound to serue. In his dyet he was neyther temperate, much lesse a goymound that vsed excesse : for that he left not to eate of any thing, in respect of health, or vertue : but without dyet, did eate, both what and whe he liked. In wine he had a good relish, and at times dranke thereof so frankly, that he hindered the health of his person, and also the credite of his fame. There was in his dayes great earthquakes, pestilences, dearth, and hunger : in which calamities, he shewed him selfe a pitifull Prince, and of great magnanimitie : bycause in time of hunger, he gaue

gaue the people wherewith to be susteined, and in time of earthquakes, money to reedifie. He discharged many cities of their whole tributes, and to others some part he released in suche wise, that in all his Empire there was no citie, that newly receiued not, some benefite at his hande, eyther deliuered not from some olde payment. In the first yeare of his Empire, the riuer Tyber did so ouerflowe, that thre dayes damage thereof, was not repayed in thre yeares. He was of the men of warre much feared, for that he did chastise them : and no lesse beloued, bycause he did pay them. The chieffest cause, of his great prayse in Chronicles, or of writers of histories, and the tender affection that the Romaines did beare him, proceeded, that in time of peace, he helde his men of warre in great ciuilitie : and in time of warre, he gouerned the common wealth, as if it had bene in peace. Alwayes when the Senatours repayed vnto him, eyther to eate, or for affaires, he did alwayes entertaine them standing : and if they were Consuls, he came forth to receiue them, and if they were Judges, he did rise when they came before him : and if they were officers of the Senate, he would somewhat stoupe or nod with the head : in suche wise, that with all, he vsed greate courtesie : and in speache and conference, no lesse vbanitie. To repaire temples, to prouide priestes, and to offer sacrifices, he was a Prince both carefull and diligent : and toytly therewith it is to be noted, he consented not to the inuention of newe deuices, and muche lesse did he admit straunge customes.

CHAP. XVI.

Whome Adrian did adopt to succcede him in his Empire.

After the Emperour Adrian had trauelled in a manner throughout the world, by sea and lande, and passed both colde and heate, he fell into a grievous sicknesse : he

himselfe, giuing occasion therof, for that in his dyet, either in the time of heate, or colde, did sildome or hardly vse any order. Presently vpon his sicknesse, his heart was touched with great care, vpon the determination, whom he should adopt to the succession of the Empire: bycause many did followe him, that did much desire it, but verie fewe that did deserue it. The death of Scuerian, Dion doth report, was after this manner. Adrian on a certaine daye at his dinner, sayd vnto the Consuls that sate at his table: I would haue you name me ten men, in science learned, and sincere of life: vnto one of which I may commend, after my dayes, the estate of the common wealth. They all vsing silence vnto that demaund, Adrian sayd: reckon me but nine, for I haue one, and such a one, as is my brother in lawe, Scuerian: for that he hath both age, and grauitie, After a fewe dayes, that these things did passe, Adrian being in great daunger through a fluxe of bloude, that brake forth without ceasing at his nose: doubting that first his life should haue finished, before the bloude would haue stannched: did point with his finger, Lucius Comodusts be his successour. And after recouering moze health, he was aduertised, that Seuerian and Fulcus his nephew, continued murmuring, at that whiche he had commaunded: and that vnto him the Empire was not directed: Adrian beganne to disoaine and abhorre him with great hatred. This Seuerian of the age of ninetie yeares, Adrian commaunded to be slaine: bycause he set him selfe in the imperiall chaire, and gaue vnto such as were in fauour with the Emperour, a solemne supper, and bycause in secreete, he had conference with the capteines of warres. Because that Seuerian dyed, he determined to haue giuen the Empire vnto the Consul Fulcus, which was his nephew: but when Adrian vnderstode, that Fulcus had conference with Magicians and Soothsayers, to be aduertised, if he should inioy the Empire, he put him to death: in such wise, that he both lost the inheritauce, and also his life. Pletorius Metus, came to visite Adrian in his sicknesse: whiche

whiche being his great friend, he would neither heare nor see: because he did imagine, y he came not to visite, but to inherite. Gentian the Consul, a noble and auncient Romaine, also he persecuted, for no other cause, but for that he vnderstode, he was both liked and honoured of the Senate: and that all men did hope he should succede him in the Empire. The Emperour Adrian did neuer thewe him selfe so cruell in his life, as he did somewhat before his death: bycause all those that he thought, did hope to succede him in the Empire, he commaunded to be banished, or slayne. Being sicke in a village, named Tiburtina, of a fluxe of bloude, where he remained many dayes bothe desperate, vnruly, and out of temper: for that he had no patience, to thinke that he should dye, and an other should succede him.

There was alwayes some unkindnesse betwixt him, and the emperesse Sabina, but in the end, Adrian bled forth skill, that secretly he gaue poison vnto his wife Sabina, whereby she finished his life, and he lost his suspicion. When Adrian perceiued that of necessitie he must needs dye, and that an other must haue his Empire, he appointed Cenoio for his successour, sonne in lawe vnto Niger: and this he did against the mindes of all them whiche did serue him, and also of all such as did best loue him: because many others seemed to be of moze deseruing, and also of moze abilitie to gouerne the Empire. Vnto this Cenoio he gaue the name of Elio vero Caesar: and to the ende it should be gratefull vnto the people, and confirmed of the Senate: he gaue them the Circen playes, which was vnto them very acceptable, & did distribute throughout Rome, foure thousand Sexterces. Presently vpon the adoptiō of Cenoio, he gaue him the Pretourship, he placed him before the Panoniaes, which were admitted to goe next his person, did create him the second time Consul, did set him at his owne table, and did permit to accompanie him in the litter: finally, Adrian did intreate him as his sonne, and all did serue him as their Lord.

Presently after that, Cenoio was adopted, he fell sicke; of the disease of death: in such wise, as he had not leasure to giue thanks vnto the Senate: whereof Adrian being aduertised, sayde vnto the Senate: Vnto a weake wall were we staid, that day when Cenoio was elected. Cenoio dyed in the Kalends of Ianuarie, for which cause he was not bewailed of the people: for that moneth being dedicated vnto the God Ianus, no Romaine durst bewaile the dead, eyther vnto any sorowes for the liuing. Adrian finding him selfe more oppressed with infirmities, did adopt and declare Antoninus Pius his successour: vpon condition, that he should adopt the good Marcus Aurelius, and his brother Annus Verus. The adoption of Antoninus, was displeasing vnto some, but especially vnto Attilius Seuerus who with great care did sollicite the Empire for him selfe: and at that time being Prefect of the citie, some he did corrupt with money, and some with faire promises: but Adrian being aduertised of y^e web that Attilius had in hande, did not commaund him to be slaine, but to be banished all Italie.

CHAP. XVII.

Howe and where the Emperour
Adrian dyed.

On the day that Adrian commaunded the olde Seuerian to be put to death, before the executioner came to cut his throte, in a vessel he put certaine coles, adding thereto some incense, lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, he said: You immortall Gods I take to witnesse, if I be culpable wherein I am accused, and for which this daye I am condemned and put to death, and ioynly therewith I request and beseech you, that in testimonie of my innocencie, ye giue me no other reuengement: but that when Adrian shall desire to dye, he may not dye.

For the time that the Consul Seuerian was executed, Adrian neuer enioyed one day of health, but many times desired to dye, and sought occasions to kill him selfe: but

but Antoninus Pius vnderstanding thereof, commaunded him to be guarded by daye, and watched by night. Being assailed with extreme infirmities, and not able eyther to eate, or sleepe, he many times sought venome to drinke, sometimes he would haue a knife to kill him selfe, sometimes he would not eate, by pure hunger to hasten his death: whereof the Senate being aduertised, they did humbly craue, that it might please his excellencie, to haue patience in that infirmity, since the Gods were pleased to lengthen his life. Adrian was much despised, with this suite of the Senate: and so much displeased with him that sayd it, that he should be taken and put to death. Adrian had a Barbar named Mastor, both faithfull and valiaunt, that did attend on his person when he did hunt, being his auncient sernaunt: whom he did most instantly desire, and secretly threaten, to dispatch him of his life: but the barbar being terrified, to heare such wordes, fled out at gates. By chaunce he recovered a knife into his handes, wherewith he would haue dispatched him selfe: but by force it was taken from him, but therewith and from thence forwarde, more desirous to dye, and his life more hatefull vnto him. Adrian had also a Physician borne in Africa, this man he did most instantly request, to minister vnto him some poison, to finish his sorrowfull and most wretched life: so hatefull vnto him selfe: but the Physician was so faithfull vnto his lord, & not able to resist the suit of his soueraigne, determined to drinke y^e same, & to die. Adrian holding him selfe, for y^e most vnforsunate, & the extremest wretch in distresse, that so much desired death, and could not but liue: & most truly y^e suit of Seuerian vnto the gods, was most thoroughly perfourmed in him: that is to say, that they would enlarge his life, when he should desire to dye. Antoninus Pius being now declared, and confirmed for Cesar, and Adrian euery day finding him selfe to growe in weaknesse, departed from Rome, vnto the port of Baias, where he remained, vntill many experiences in medicines and Physicke: which for his health did little profite, and to shorten his

his life, gaue some assistance. Adrian dyed in that port of Baias, the sixt day of July: and was buried in a village named Ciceroniana. He liued threescore and two yeares, and reigned one and twentie yeares, six monethes, and sixtene dayes. Besore Adrian dyed, he commaunded this verse to be placed vpon his sepulchre. *Turba medicorum, Regem interfecit.* Which is to say, The Emperour Adrian by truffling Physicians, gaue so halitie an end vnto his yeares.

The life of the Emperour Antoninus Pius, compiled by Syr

Anthony of Guevara, Bishop of Mondonnedo, Preacher, Chronicler,
& Counseller vnto Charles
the fift.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the lineage and countrie of the Emperour Antoninus Pius.



The naturall countrie of the Emperour Antoninus Pius, was of Gallia Transalpina, whiche is as much to say, of swete Fraunce: and was bozne in a citie named Nemefa, whiche from the time of Iulius Caesar, was established a Colonell of Rome. His grandfather was named Titus Fuluius, a man both generous and valiant, who in the times that Iulius Caesar did conquer Fraunce, did vtter his greafe partialitie in the behalfe of the Romaine Empire: for whiche cause after the warres were ended, he came to Rome. Titus Fuluius in passing into

into Italic, and setting in Rome, had happie and great successe: for the Fathers of the Senate, besides their recompence for seruice, they made him a citizen of Rome. He had suche skill to profite him selfe by that libertie, and proued so cunning to content the people, that within the space of foure yeares, he was twice Consul, once Gouernour of the citie, and once Iudge: in suche wise, that his vertue was moze beneficiall then others, to be naturall of the countrie.

The father of Antoninus Pius, was named Fuluius Aurelius: a man vertuous and learned, and nolesse then his grandfather Titus, was twice Consul: his grandmother of the mothers side, was named Bobinia, and the father of his mother, whiche was, Arrius Antoninus, was no lesse esteemed in the Romaine Empire, then was his other grandfather: for he was Iudge two yeres, Master of the horse men one yeare, Tribune of the people another yeare, and in the ende, two times Consul. This Arrius Antoninus, was a great persecuter of Domitian, a great friende of Nerua, and verie priuate with Traiane: whiche when he perceiued Nerua to accept the Empire being so olde, he had greafe compassion of him, and sayde these wordes: My friende Nerua, I giue thee to vnderstande, eyther it is some curse from thy predecessours, or some vengeance that the Goddes will take of thee: since they permitte thee to take the Empire, and at the time of most neede, to haue counsell, they deprine thee of thy sound and good iudgement.

The good olde Nerua, did so sensibly feele these wordes, spoken by his friende Antoninus, that had it not bene by the great importunitie of Traiane, he had presently renounced the Empire: which if he had done, as afterwarde he did, he had not erred: because his age was too greafe, and his strength but weake. Antoninus Pius had a father in lawe, named Iulius Lupus, which long time was a Senatour, that desired not to beare office, but with his patrimonie to liue in quietnesse.

V. iij.

Anto-

Antoninus Pius married with the daughter of Annus Verus, who was named Annia Faustina, a woman of excellent beautilie, and this was mother vnto the famous Faustine, wife vnto the great Emperour Marcus Aurelius. Antoninus Pius, and Faustine his wife had two sonnes, which died in their youth: and also two daughters, of which the elder was married vnto the Consul Sillanus, which also died in their youth. The second daughter (as the mother) was named Faustine, & married vnto Marcus Aurelius, in whome the succession of the Empire did remaine. Antoninus Pius had but one sister, named Iulia Fadilla, whome he tenderly loued: not onely, for that he had no more, but because they were twinnes and bozne both at a birth. Antoninus Pius was bozne the xiii. daye of October, at a certeine place named Laurina: which afterwardes he did nobilitate with stately buyldinges, and indued with great priuileges, and also did amplifie the boundes thereof, which were but short and narrowe. In the mosse time of his infancie, he was nourished with his fathers father: and being more entred into yeres, he continued with his other graund father by the mothers side: and was so vertuous and so well inclined, that he was pleasing vnto all men, and beloued of all persons: he attained to be knowen vnto all his grandfathers both of father and mother, who all fixed their eyes vpon Antoninus, as well to inuest him with learning, as to endue him with riches and wealth: for, as he afterwarde reported of them, they bled to saue, that they fauoured him more for his vertue, then for affinitie. With his graundfathers he learned both tounge of Greeke and Latine, he gaue him selfe more to Cosmographie, then to any other science, and did muche delight to talke with men of straunge nations, to giue them to vnderstande, that he did knowe all the particularities of their countries, by science, as they did by experience. Being so intirely beloued of his graundfathers, they helde him alwayes in company with Philosophers: who of his owne naturall condition, delighted not,

but

but in the company of the vertuous: whereof it proceeded, that after he became so cruell an enimie vnto the wicked, and so perfect a friend vnto good men. The customes and companies that Princes do take in their youth: they loue and followe afterwarde when they be men.

CHAP. II.

¶ Of the inclination, proportion, and naturall fashion of his bodie.

Antoninus Pius was of an high stature, slender and very streight, his eyes somewhat outward, black hayre, thicke bearde, white, rare, and gaptothed, his face white, merrie, glad some, and faire, in such wise, that he did rather prouoke, to be loued, then feared. Naturally, he was of great health: his teeth excepted, which he lost before he came to age. When a certeine cunning man made offer to be bound to place him teethe wherewith to speake and eate: Antoninus made him aunswere: Since neuer from my harte proceeded fained or double wordes: there shall neuer enter into my mouth, counterfete teeth. The want of his teeth, made him to eat with paine, and stutter in his speche. Being touched with a Jester for his stammering, Antoninus aunswere: I recke not greatly to stumble in wordes, so that I erre not, and stand vp right in deedes. In Rome there was a Senatour named Taurinus, liberall in speche, and not sober in diet, who reproouing Antoninus for that his teeth failed him, both to eate and speake, aunswering, saide: I consent to that which thou saiest: for that I, if I would, may not be a glutton: but thou maist, and wilt not leaue to be malicious. Many Princes did excell Antoninus Pius in science, but none did matche him in eloquence: for that ordinarily, he did talke in the Latine tounge, & did dispute in the Greeke. He was naturally very well conditioned, which had in him mosse apparance, for that alwayes his words

w. v.

were

were without malice, and his thoughtes without suspition. Although he were of complexion cholerike sanguine which giueth men occasion to be rashe and souden, it had no place in Antoninus Pius, for that he was constant in aduersities, and patient in iniuries. When in his presence they saide any wordes that did grieue or offende him, or brought him any sorrowfull newes: in biting of his lipp, in casting downe his eyes, and laying one hand vpon another, they vnderstood his great sorrow: but toyntly herewith, he was neuer scene of any man, soudenly to chaunge countenance, muche lesse to speake any cruell or iniurious worde. Befoze he was Emperour, he was the welthiest man of all the Empire: for that he did inherit from his foure graundfathers, greate and ample patrimonies: vnto whome he was sole inheritour. He was giuen to gather, conserue and augment his goodes, riches and wealth, but without all oppression to any person, for that he liued onely of him selfe, defrauding no man of his suite. After he obtained the Empire, when by chaunce any talke was moued of the couetousnesse of men, and of the necessitis of Princes, many times he woulde saye: I giue thanks to the immortall Gods, that since I haue beene Emperour, I haue not taken any thing from any man: either before, that euer I was benighted with debt.

” He had great affection to the workes of the fielde, and therein had not onely the toles and thinges necessarie for the purpose: that is to saye, buffes, oren, cartes, ploughes, but he him self woulde be occupied in sowing corne, cutting vines, pruning trees, and at times woulde take the plough, and make a dozen of furrowes. He was extreme in nothing, but that in, and for all thinges, he placed him selfe in the midst: which he did very well discover in the gouernement of his person and estate: wherein, neither for his prodigall expence, he was noted proude: either for want of a noble minde, esteemed a niggard. Many times the Heauens being cleare, and a settled faire weather in apparance, he woulde saye: vppon suche a daye wee shall haue

haue raine, or chaunge of weather, wherein he neuer erred: and many times did aduouche, that the knowledge thereof proceeded not of science, either of Philosophie, but of certeine experiences, which he gathered, when he used the labour of the fielde. When on a certeine time, with his knife he was pruning of a plumb tree in his orcharde loyning vnto the high way, a Senatour saide vnto him: since you are an Emperour, cease to vse the office of a labourer, vnto whome Antoninus answered: it is lesse euil for an Emperour to prune trees in his orcharde, then to consume lost time in his palace. He was very attentive to that which was saide, and curiously he did consider, what others did: chiefly to the ende to attaine knowledge: for that naturally, he was sharpe and of delicate iudgement. He was alwayes occupied, either in reading, studying, disputing, or doing somethinge with his handes: and wherein he wanted skill, he disdained not to craue to be taught. Alwayes for the more parte, he went bare headed, though much heate he had therein: and one aduising him, the ayre of Rome to be very hurtfull, and therefore right necessarie to haue his head couered, answered: assure mee from troubles of men on earth, and I am assured that nothing shall offende mee, which the Gods shal send mee from Heauen. He was of him selfe excellent in Musike, delighted therein, and a greate friende to Musicians. Antoninus Pius, was suche and so good, that all heartes did loue him, all tongues did praise him, and all suche as did not knowe him, but by report, had him in admiration: finally, he was compared vnto Numa Pompilius, because in him there were not more vertues to be desired, either one onely vice to be reprehended.

CHAP. III.

¶ The workes of pietie which he did, and the cause, why he was intituled Antoninus Pius.

Annius Verus, father of the first Faustine, and father in lawe vnto Antoninus Pius, became so olde, that he was not able to sit on horsebacke, either to go on foote, but that he was led and staide by the arme, to saye his opinion in the Senate: because, from olde putrified men, ripe and sound counsels do proceede. Antoninus Pius being the man that delighted to leade his old father, did not onely giue him way in foule places, but in going vp of staires, did rather seeme to beare him, then leade him. Passing on a certeine day, and beholding an olde man named Iulianus led vnto prison for debt, and vnderstanding the cause, he presently payed the same, and added a woork of moze pitie, that payde not onely all his debtes, but gaue him also to susteine him & his house. For that a penall lawe, prouided in that behalf, that by iustice or otherwise, none should shed blood within the compasse of Rome: for this cause at the gate Salaria, a place deputed for execution of offenders, and maisters also did there chastice their seruants: and thus it chaunced, that Antoninus Pius, passing that way, found there, many slaues bounde and beaten most cruelly: he conceived so great pitie, to see them so beaten without pitie, that presently he bought them all: and the same daye he bought them, the verie same daye he made them free. From his youth it was his inclination to visite the sicke, and to accompany suche as were in sorowe, distresse, and out of comfort: wherein the good Antoninus did so much vtter the griefe, that he had of their griefe, & he so much sorowed of their sorowe, that no man did so sensibly feele his owne griefe, as he did bewaile the misfortune of others.

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An auncient Romaine widowe, which had but one sonne, whose misfortune was to kill another young man, and being condemned to dye, the sorrowfull mother came lamenting, wailing, and crying vnto the Emperour Antoninus: with whome he did so earnestly and so grievously weepe, as if it had bene his owne sonne. And being aduertised by his friendes, and his most speciall and priuate seruants, how euil it became him to weepe with and like a woman, answered: that sorrowfull woman came to craue helpe and succour for her sonne: and for that I may not relieue her with some remedie, I did asist to bewaile her mischaunce.

The Romaines had a custome, to leaue the dead bodies of men executed in the fieldes: but Antoninus Pius was the first that gaue order for such bodies to be buried: affirming it sufficient, to take from men their liues, and not to feede beastes with their carcases. From the time of the proude Tarquine, the Romaines held for custome, to giue malefactours great tormentes: the good Antoninus did take away all tortures, wherewith the members of mans bodie was put in daunger: saying, that the torment was sufficient that were to chastice, but not to dismember. Fabatus, Dioscorus, Lipolus, Macrinus, Fuluius, Torquatus, Eucenius, Bruscos, and Emilius, wherof foure being Consuls, three Judges, and two Pretors, and banished by Adrian, Antoninus gaue them all pardon: and for that many did mislike this deede, affirming it to be done to the prejudice of the fame and memorie of Adrian, he answered: Adrian my Lord did not erre in that which he then did: and I thinke I do not erre in that which I now doe: because then, he did it to profits him selfe by his iustice, as I now doe to obtaine aduantage by clemencie. Whether so euer he went, either in Rome or other places of Italic, wekely he did visite the prisoners, and the poore which he found there for debt, he commaunded the creditors with his owne money to be payde: and after that he had three times payde for one man, and the fourth time found

found in prison for debt: he commaunded him to be deliuered vnto his creditour for his claue. A fewe dayes after this commaundement, his clemencie not able to endure so rigorous Justice: notwithstanding the sentence was moſte iuſt, he provided at his owne coſt once moze to buy and to giue libertie vnto that poore man. As beſore recited, when Adrian was ſicke, and ſo diſtempered with his infirmities, that ſome he commaunded to be taken, ſome baniſhed, and ſome put to death: but Antoninus Pius being adopted Auguſtus, and being inueſted with the whole gouernement, did neither arreſt, baniſhe, or kill them: but onely commaunded to aſſent them ſelues, and not to appeare in his preſence. Amongeſt all the notable woorkes of pietie that Antoninus did perſourme, was, that Adrian ſtriving and watching to kill him ſelfe, Antoninus did ouerwatche to preſerue a liue: being moſte true according to ſenſualitie, he ſhoulde haue procured, and not haue giuen any impediment to haue finiſhed his life: ſince vnto him, bothe houſe, goods, and eſtate ſhoulde ſuccede.

The Senatours, & many other magiſtrates of Rome, did attempt to aduiliſe the lawes, and monuments of Adrian: whiche Antoninus did moſt ſtiffely denye, with ſtand and repulſe: and in the ende not onely did cauſe all his actes to be ratified, confirmed, and allowed: but alſo did frame and bying to paſſe with the Senate, that Adrian ſhoulde be accounted amongeſt the Gods. He built in the honour of Adrian a moſte ſolemne temple in a certaine place, named Puſoll, and did furniſhe the ſame with Prieſtes to ſerue him, and endued them with rents to ſind them, and were commonly named Adrian's prieſts. In the honour of Adrian, he did inſtitute certaine playes, intituled Luſtra, to be played euery fifth yere, for the maintenaunce whereof, he gaue great rentes.

Beſore Adrian died, he had made for him ſelfe a ſumptuous ſepulchre neare vnto the riuer Tiber; whether Antoninus brought him to be buried, and brought to paſſe

paſſe with the Senatours, and the people of Rome, to receiue him with no leſſe honour, then if he had bene a liue. No Prince had reigned in the Empire, that had not bene noted either cruell, or of ſmall pietie, Antoninus Pius excepted: whome with his ſounge, neuer commaunded man to be ſlaine: either woulde euer firme ſentence of death, or euer woulde beholde any man executed: becauſe ſo greate was his clemencie, that he might not beholde the ſhedding of bloud.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the woordes that Adrian ſaide vnto the Senate, when he did adopt Antoninus Pius.

After that the Emperour Adrian was recovered of a certaine great ſurfet, it hapned after wards as he ſate at his dinner, he was taken with an inceſſant cough, wherof followed a bleeding at the noſe, in ſuche abundance, and with ſuch continuance, that both him ſelfe, and others thought, firſt to haue ſene him dead, yer the bloud woulde haue ceaſed to ruiſe. Adrian perceiuing, the greater that his ſtore of bloud did increaſe, ſo muche the moze his life did ſhorten: deſiring like a good Prince, to provide for the weale of his ſubiectes, commaunded all the Senatours, Conſuls, and all other the notable officers of Rome to come beſore him, vnto whome he briefly ſaide certaine woordes, right worthe to be committed vnto memorie, as followeth.

His Oration to the aſſembly.

Fathers conſcript, you ſee with greate certaintie, howe ſoudainly and vnawares death hath aſſailed mee, and by howe ſmall occaſion I loſe my life. Let mee be an example vnto you, and all men,

and

and holde it for most certaine, that that parte of life is most times in peril, where, of certaintie of life we had fetled most affiance. Nature hath not graunted me to haue children of mine owne, but therefore I giue great thanks vnto the immortall Gods, because in deliuering mee from children, they haue discharged mee of greate and many cares. There goeth much difference betwixt the ingendering, or the electing of a sonne: for the one proceedeth of necessitie, the other is elect at large, will, and libertie. The sonnes that nature giueth vs, are many times lame, filthie, and also foolish: but such as wee adopt, wee elect them able, sound and discrete: for that no man is so imprudent which at the time of election, chooseth not the best. In time past, I elected Lucius, sufficiently known vnto you: but the destinies were so contrary vnto him, that before he had power to commaunde in the state of Rome, he was buried in his sepulchre: but now we haue elected Antoninus for your emperour, whose wee promise you, shall proue milde, benigne, quiet, and mercifull: for that clemencie is as naturall vnto him, as it is vnto the Sunne, to giue light by daye. He receiueth the Empire in a competent age, to the end ye feare not, by his too much youth, to commit some rash deede, either by too much olde age, negligently to gouerne the common wealth. He hath bene bred and nourished in our own country, and therefore will obserue the customes thereof. Also his life hath been trained vnder our own lawes, a sufficient occasion to auoide all searce of vnnecessary lawes of straunge countries, and this you haue to regarde, not as a matter of small importance: because there is not any thing that more doeth offende

the common wealth, then to infecte the same with straunge and vnused customes. He knoweth what thing it is to go on warrefare, to gouerne armies, to suffer both passions and motions of people, to vse clemencie with some, and to correct others: in suche wise, that in him is contained greate sufficiency, for the gouernement of the common wealth, since in all thinges he hath experience. Ye knowe him, and he knoweth you, ye haue dealt with him, and he hath dealt with you: & I hold of him such opinion, that he will neither despise you, either forget you: in such manner, that his obedience shalbe vnto mee, as vnto a father, and shal deale with you in loue, like a brother. And I woulde that all you which be here present, as also all other persons in Rome, that vpon such condition I transferre the Empire, that after his dayes he leaue the same vnto Marcus Aurelius his sonne in lawe, and my seruauant: and from henceforth, I sweare and protest, that these two elections shalbe acceptable vnto the Gods, and profitable vnto men. In credite, life, and science, Marcus Aurelius doth exceede Antoninus: but that hitherto Antoninus hath had more experience: for which cause vnto him, the rather we haue commended the Empire, because, for the generall gouernement of any estate or common wealth, one yeare of experience is more worth then ten yerres of science. I haue bene weak, carelesse and negligent, in many thinges of the common wealth, partely inforced therunto by the greatness of mine enemies, but for the recompence thereof, I do leaue two suche Princes one after the other, to gouerne the Empire, which for their singulartie in science and vertue, shall excell all that be past, and I

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doubt in equalitie, not to be matched with any their successors.

These wordes being saide by Adrian, he drew a ring from his finger, and put the same vpon the finger of Antoninus Pius, and after that houre he was holden, serued, and obeyed as Romaine Emperour: notwithstandinge that Adrian liued some time after. Perfect was the election of the Emperour Nerua, in the good Traiane, and no lesse of Traiane in the adoption of Adrian, and moſte iust of Adrian in the election of Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, which fiue Emperours were such and so good, one after the other: which seemed a prognostication, that the felicitie of Romaine Emperours, should in them take an ende.

CHAP. V.

¶ Of the offices that Antoninus helde before he was Emperour.

Before Antoninus Pius came vnto the height of his Empire, he did oft put forth his money to vsurie, but all the gaines of that trade, he spent in succouring the poore, and redẽming captiues. He was sent on a time by Adrian to visite the Isle of Sicyl: in which visitation he reformed many people, chastised many tyrants, depriued many officers, remoued many enimities, repaired ruinous buildinges, did melt many counterfeit cognes: but moſte of all in suche manner did gouerne the common wealth, that no man remained discontented.

He was iiii. yeares Pretor within Rome, he was Consul in Campania, with Catilinus Seuerus, he was Judge three yerres together, in al which offices he was neuer noted, either rashe in commaundements, or rigorous in his chastisements.

Adrian

Adrian diuided all Italie into foure iurisdiccions, placing in euery one a Consul for gouernement thereof, and established Antoninus supreme gouernour of them all: in such wise, that he helde such authoritie and credite, that in Rome all was gouerned by his counsell: and in Italie all did obey his commaundementes. Where his person farre distant, alwayes Adrian and the Senate had his counsell present: the cause whereof proceeded of his cleare iudgement, in the foundation of that which he saide: and through the bountie of his vertue, he frankly did speake his opinion.

Where saide not without iust cause, that by his vertue, he did freely saye his opinion: for speaking the very truth, he is not onely vniust, but verie wicked, that hath libertie in his speeche, and hath not vertue in his life. Exercising in Asia the office of Proconsul, he vttered so greate wisdom in his commaundementes, and so much without couetousnesse in his dealings, that he was intituled, the holy proconsul, which gouernement amongst strangers, by a straunger, was a case somewhat straunge, because detestation alwayes accompanieth such gouernement.

Comming from Asia vnto Rome, in Antioche he buried his eldest daughter: whose had such fame in her life, that after her death she left behinde a slanderous memorie. Where haue saide howe the wife of Antoninus was named Faustine, which was mother vnto the faire Faustine wife vnto Marcus Aurelius: and moſte truely, both mother and daughter were touched with infamie, by the meane of too much libertie, and too little vertue.

It was neuer scene in the Romaine Empire, that two so vertuous Princes, had wiues so licentious: notwithstanding the one was sufficiently aduised, the other corrected: but for that they were so gracious in their conuersation, and so perfect beautifull of their persons: it was very little which was saide vnto them, in respect of that which was dissembled.

A. G.

Antoninus

Antoninus was so limited in that which he saide, and so abused in the counsels which he gaue, that he neuer repented that demanded the same. Before Antoninus came vnto the Empire, he was couctous, but afterwards very liberall: and his wife reprehending, that he vsed no order in giuing or spending, he answered: Faustine, simple is thy iudgement, since thou understandest not, that after we were aduanced vnto the Empire, we lost all that euer we had, because all Princes of noble mindes be bounde to giue, but haue no licence to keepe or hoorde.

The tribute coronall, that is to saye, the money that was giuen vnto the Emperours for their coronation: the one halfe therof he gaue vnto the cities of Italie, to relieue the charges of the common wealth. His wife he did both honour, and cause to be honoured: and it was in such manner, that he obtained and brought to passe with the Senate, that shee shoulde be intituled Augusta Faustina, and in her owne name to graue and stampe certeine money, the whiche is seene at these dayes. Antoninus was imbued with so ardent affection of the Senate, that without his request, they erected the pictures and counterfeits of his father and mother, his graundfathers, and graundmothers, his brothers and sisters, notwithstanding they were all dead.

The Circene playes, which were vsed every fifth yeare, the Senate did ordeine to celebrate euerie yere on the daye of his natiuitie. And after that he therefore had greatly gratified the Senate: by greate request he obteyned the celebration of them, to be perfourmed on the day of Adrians death.

The Senate to satisfie Antoninus, consented that his wife Faustina, shoulde be intituled Augusta: and also in the copies whiche they made, vnto her honour, there shoulde be ingrauen, Augusta Faustina: whiche excellencie, was neuer graunted to any Woman
of

of Rome: for that in giuing her the title of Augusta, they gaue her authoritie to set her hande to the thinges of the common wealth.

CHAP. VI.

¶ How he helde all prouinces in peace,
not by armes, but with
letters.

Amongest al the Romaine Princes, there was none, that performed so great constancie in his affaires, as Antoninus Pius: which proceeded, for that he was not rashe in his commaundements, either variable in his determinations, but that exactly he considered and examined, what he did commaunde: and after, for no importunitie would reuoke the same. Antoninus being resident in the prouince of Campania, sending vnto the Senate to request a certeine matter, which notwithstanding the difficultie thereof, was graunted: Gaius Rufus a Senatour, saide vnto him. Serene Prince, I beseeche thee to giue mee to vnderstande, by what reason it is brought to passe, that in all thy enterprises thou dost neuer repent: in all thy requestes thou art neuer denied: either in al thy commaundements thou arte neuer disobeyed. To whome Antoninus made answer: If I repent mee not of any my deedes, it is because I do them according to reason: and if my requestes are not denied of the Senate, it is because I craue not but that which is iust: and if in my commaundements I am not disobeyed, it proceedeth that they are moze profitable vnto the common welth then for mine owne person.

Most truely these were words right worthe of such a mā, and to y^e memorie of Princes most chiefly to be commended. It was an auncient custome amongst y^e Romaines, to haue the time limited for their residence in their offices,
I. iij. that

that is to say, the Dictatour, sixe monethes, the Consul one yere, the Pretor two yeres, the Censour three yeres, the maister of the horsemen halfe a yere, and so of the rest.

Antoninus woulde not consent vnto this custome, but in euery respect did alter the same, in such wise, that with some that shoulde haue continued but two or three yeaeres, he helde them in office seuen or eight yeaeres: and others that shoulde haue continued three yeaeres, hee displaced them in three monethes: affirminge, that the good officer ought to be conserued all the dayes of his life, but the euill, not to be suffered one onely daye.

He sent Fulgius Tusculanus, as Pretor into y^e prouince of Mauritania, whome win half a yere he depriued of his office: for y^e he was bothe impatient, & some what couetous: and complaining of the iniurie, saide and alledged, that in times past, he had bene friend vnto Antoninus, which now was forgotten. Whereunto Antoninus Pius did answer: thou hast no reason thus vniustly to blame mee, because the office was giuen thee by the Emperour, and not by Antoninus: and since thou diddest offend, not as Fulgius, but as Pretor: euen so I discharged thee of thine office, not as Antoninus thy old friend, but as an Emperour of the Romaine Empire. He was not inclined to beginne warres, either in his owne person to prosecute the same: for he helde opinion, that the Prince with more sounde counsell shoulde commend his warres vnto his Captaines, to the ende in his owne person to gouerne the common wealth, then to goe to the warres him selfe, and leaue his common wealth vnto others.

Talkinge on a time in his presence, of warres and battels, that Iulius Caesar, Scipio, and Hanibal, had fought and ouercome in the worlde, Antoninus Pius answered: Let euery man holde opinion what he thin-

thinketh good, and praise what it pleaseth him: but for mine owne parte, I doe more glose in conseruing peace many yeaeres: then with warres to conquere many battalles.

In the seconde yere of his Empire, the Britains rebelled, against whome he sent the Consul Lelius Urbicus, whome subdued that Islande, although afterwarde by mischaunce he lost his life.

In the thirde yere of his Empire, the Mauritanes also rebelled, whiche are a people of Africa: against whome he sent the Consul Murus Cespitius, whome vsed so greate policie in those warres, that hee constrained them to craue peace. In those dayes the Germanes and the Datians had greate warres amongst them selues, vpon the diuision of certeine territories: but in the ende, after their owne destruction, amongst them selues, they came to suche conoord, that they bent their whole force, as cruell enemies against Rome, and the countries thereof: protesting and affirminge, their charges to bee muche more in paying so greate, and so continuall tribute, then might arrise by defence of their persons against the Romaine power.

Antoninus vnderstanding of this rebellion, hee woulde not presently sende forth an armie, but a Iudge with greate power, to visite those countries, to mitigate and vnfolde all griefes, and to remoue all vniust tributes, and ioyntly therewith did write suche and so good wordes, that at the instant those Barbarians left their armour, and did yeld their countries vnto the obedience of Rome.

Of this example, all mightie Princes haue to take example, to the ende, that with furie they vndertake not to tame a furious people: because manye times, hartes be more tamed with swete wordes then with cruell armes.

The Iewes that were in the prouince of Pentapolis, also he did repressse and tame, which was don by the hands of the president that was in Aslyria, whom he commaunded first to offer them peace before he made them warre. In Achaia and Aegypt also certeine people did rebell: vnderstanding the occasion to procéde of the Romaine Pretors, whiche were rigorous in their commaundements, and couetous in their dealings, gaue order, that his officers were chastised and the people pardoned.

The Pretors that were resident in the countries of the Alanes, sent to complaine at Rome, howe daily they were threatened to be slaine, onely for demanding tribute: vnto whome Antoninus answered, We haue receiued your letters, and be grieued with your perils, and no lesse sorrowe your trauailes: if these people do paye their tribute which they doe owe: suffer their threateninge which they make: because it is needlesse to thinke that any man which is a tributarie, shall liue contented. In any wise, aduenture not to giue them iniurious wordes, to committ byiberie, or to do them wrong: because in suche cases, we haue to heare their complaintes, and to correct your offences. The Gods haue you in keeping, and guide well your Fortune.

CHAP. II.

¶ Howe he did visite the officers of his common wealth, and the reformation of his house.

When Antoninus sent any Pretor to gouerne any prouince, he was not satisfied that he were wise, prudent, and valiaunt: but also without any infection of pride, or couetousnesse: for he helde opinion, that he may cuill gouerne a common wealth, that is a

subject to pride or couetousnesse. Vnto Pretors, Censours, and Questours, before he gaue them any gouernement of any countrie, first, he caused them to giue an inuentorie, of their olde proper goods: to the end that when their charge were finished, the increase of their wealth might be considered: and ioynntly therewith he did both say and warne them, that he sent them to minister iustice, and not by fraude to rob countries. In all thinges that Antoninus commaunded, prouided, and chastised, he was very pitifull: such excepted, as did offend in the execution of iustice: with whom he was both rigorous & extreme: in such wise, that other offences, were they very great, he did pardon them: but as concerning iustice, the smallest offence was grievously punished. On a time certaine officers of his treasure, brought him a memoziell: wherein was contained the manner and fourme, yearly to increase his rents, which being sene and read, in the backe thereof, he did write these wordes: the order and fourme that you haue to searche, ought not to be to the augmentation of my rents: but for the aduancement of my common welth: eyther to impose newe tributes, but to deuise with order, to auoyde excessiue expences: for if Romaine Princes vse no rule to moderate their charges, eyther we shall lose our selues, or rob our common wealthes. Amongest all the Princes past, onely Antoninus did neuer permit, the rents of his estate, eyther moze or lesse to be augmented: but rather did pardon many common wealthes, of their olde debts, and also relieued others of some newe impositions. Presents that were brought him, of silver, golde, silke, purple, iuels, or other riche things, he woulde not receiue them, were it not of the kings that payde tribute vnto the Empire: for he helde opinion, that the common wealthes, rather then him selfe, had neede thereof. The things that he vsed most commonly to receiue, were booke to reade in, horses to runne, and fruite to feede on: which he forgate not, gratefully to recompence. In affaires he vsed great expedition, that is to say, that if he

once did undertake any businesse, he neuer withdrew his hand, untill it were finished. Euery yeare he caused his house to be visited, as concerning excessive expences: if ex- action or bribery were committed by any of his household, against strangers: if they did serue, which receiued wa- ges: if amongst them, there were any that were notably vicious: finally, all that whiche the visitour for the reue- die hereof did set downe, presently was perfourmed. For the time of Domitian, the Emperours officers had a cus- tome, to receiue many & chargeable fees of al men, that by warrant of the Princes liberalitie receiued reliefe: which the Emperour Antoninus, as a vile custome, did vtterly take away: affirming, that a gracious rewarde, ought gratis to be dispatched. The pryde, the presumption, the haughtinesse, and also the tediousnesse of the whole Empire, he brought, placed, and restored vnto the plat of great hu- militie: in suche wise, that as easily they dispatched af- faires, with the Emperour Antoninus, as with a citizen of Rome. A matter surely to be noted, to beholde the Court of Rome, in the dayes of this good Prince, howe per- fect the reformation thereof was established: for surely, whether their affaires, were eyther with the Prince, or with the Senate, neyther did they beginne their suit with feare, or were dispatched, with iust cause to murmur. The officers of his house, and also of the Senate, by whose han- des matters were dispatched, some he aduanced, and to o- thers he gaue double fee: to no other ende, but to remoue them from aduenturing to take any bribe. Being (as he was) a great friend vnto the common wealth, and not a little delighted to be in the grace thereof, and to this ende, with the god he vsed great liberalitie, and with the euill great clemencie: in such wise, that of all men he was be- loued, and also prayed: as well for that he pardoned the one, as gaue vnto the other. All that euer he sayde or wi- shed, to be vsed of good Princes, the same did he perfourme after he was Emperour: and reformed all things, that he thought were to be amended.

In

In the third yeare of his Empire, Faustine his dearly beloued wife dyed, in whose death he did vtter so great sor- rowe, that it exceeded the authoritie of his estate, and also the grauitie of his person. In the memorie of Faustine, he placed hir picture in all the temples, and perfourmed with the Senate, that she should be recounted amongst the Goddes, which was, as to canonize hir: all whiche was truly agreed by the Senate, more at the request of An- toninus, then for the deseruings of Faustine.

CHAP. VIII.

Of certaine notable buildings erected
by Antoninus.

The buildings which he made were not many, but excee- ding stately and sumptuous: for in them appeared and were represented the greatnes of his estate, and the mag- nanimitie that he had in spending. He built a temple in the reuerence of his Lord Adrian: wherein he erected a picture of silver, with a Coronet of golde, and a chaplet of Nacre: a worke most certainly, no lesse curious then cost- ly. He reedified a certaine building, called Gregostasens: which serued to lodge all strange ambassadours: bycause the Romaines did vse to giue ambassadours, an house to dwell in, and a stipend for their dyet. He did amplifie and nobilitate the sepulchre of his Lord Adrian: where vnto none durst appoach, but on their knees. The greatest ses- sion house of al Rome, was burnt in the time of Domitian: which the good Antoninus, built from the foundation. He built the temple of Agrippa, and indued and dedicated the same, in the reuerence of the Goddesse Ceres.ouer the riuier Rubicon, he built a sumptuous and a stately bridge, and also not a little necessarie: bycause afore time many were there daungered, and after wardes that way muche victuall, and prouision was carried.

Not

Not farre distant from the port of Hostia, neare vnto the sea, he built a right strong tower, for the safetie and defence of the ships of Rome: which a fozetime might not bring in any victuall or other prouision, but were distressed of pyzates. The haueu or port of Gaicta, whiche had bene long thzough great antiquitie forsaken, he freshly reedified, that is to say, built newe houses, erected a mightie tower, made a strong wall, placed inhabitants, and gaue them great priuileges: in such wise, that whereas afore time, it was a thing vtterly forgotten, it was from thence forth most esteemed. That whiche he did in Gaicta, he performed in a porte of Spaine named Taragon: whiche he reedified, & amplified, with great buildings and priuileges. A myle from the port of Hostia, he built a sumptuous and a curious bathe, and indued the same in suche manner, that in all Italic it was the onely bath, that was vnto all men free without charges. A myle without Rome he built thre temples, naming them Laurianos, for that many bay trees grewe there, to this ende: that the dames and matrones of Rome, walking according vnto their manner, should encounter with some Church to pray in.

CHAP. IX.

Of certaine lawes which the Emperour Antoninus Pius made.

It was a law amongst the Romaines, that such as were put to death by iustice, might make no testament: but that in losing their life, they lost also their goods. Antoninus moued with pietie, did ordein, that none for any fault, what so euer, should ioyntly lose both life and goods: but if any were put to death, he might frankly make a testament of his owne proper goods. Where he had placed any good and sound Judge in any common wealth: he did not onely permit him not to be remoued: but also with giftes and requestes he did susteine him. This good Prince made a law, that

that none should presume to sue to the Prince or Senate, for the office of iustice: vppon paine to be banished Rome. There was in Rome a Judge, named Gaius Maximus, who in Rome continued a iudge twentie yeares: of whom Antoninus wold oft say, that he had neuer sene, heard, or read of a man moze cleare of life, eyther right in iustice. In the place of Gaius Maximus, there succeeded Tatius Succinus, a man surely of many hoare haire, and of much learning: but the office of Iustour being so tedious, and he of yeares so auncient, dyed immediately vpon the burthen thereof. Antoninus being informed, that the good olde Tatius dyed with the burthen of his office, diuided the same betwixt Cornelius, and Repentinus: but after the Emperour being informed, howe the Senate had giuen the same vnto Repentinus, not for his deseruing, but at the suite of a Gentlewoman of the Courte: he commaunded him publikely to be banished, declaring by the voice of a cryar thzoughout all Rome, that he was banished for obtaining the office of a Judge, by the suit of a woman. This was the first officer of Rome, that in the dayes of Antoninus, suffered punishment, which correction gaue so greate feare thzoughout the Romaine Empire, that from thence forth the Emperour Antoninus was as muche feared of the euill, as beloued of the good. A mightie Senatour named Tranquillus, confessing to haue procured his fathers death, of extreme desire to inherite: he commaunded to be remoued into an Island, onely to passe his life with the breade of sorrowe, and the water of teares. All the time of his Empire, he gaue wheate and oyle vnto the citizens of Rome. The people of Rome in those dayes, being giuen to drinke wine without measure: he commaunded that none shuld presume to sel wine, but in Apothecaries shops for the sicke or diseased. He establtshed a lawe for him self and his successours, that openly thre dayes in the weeke, they should shewe them selues in Rome: and if by any weightie cause, there happened some impediment, that on suche dayes their gates should stand wide open, without posters,

pozters, that freely the poze might repaire to folloiw their
suits. In deare yeres he did ordeine thzough Italic, that no
gardener should dare to solwe in his garden any seede, but
wheate and barley : whereby the poze of the common
wealthe might be relieved of their penurie. He made an
vniuersall lawe, thzoughout the Empire, that gouerners
and rulers of the people, should not aduenture to spende
the goods of the common wealthe, in matters eyther vnpro-
fitable or superfluous : but to the defence of enimies, or
repayzing of fortifications, eyther else for pzoouision of the
common wealthe in time of deare yeares. There was in
Rome certaine stipendarie interpreters of all languages,
to manifest the meaning of straunge ambassadours: whose
fee and office Antoninus commanded to be forbiddon, and
taken away, affirming it to be verie conuenient vnto the
greatnesse and maiestie of Rome, that al nations and king-
domes should learne to speake their speache : and that it
were abasement for them, to learne any straunge tounge.
Also he did ordeine, that al the old, impotent, & blind people
in Rome, should be susteined at the charges of the common
wealthe : but such as were younger and moze able, should
be constrained, eyther to boult meale at the bakers, or
to blowe the bellowes at the smythes. By chaunce on a
certaine day, he founde an olde seruitour, whiche he had
knowne long in the warres, rubbing and clawing him
selfe against the pillars of the Church: And demaun-
ding why he did so rubbe him selfe, and weare out his
clothes : the olde man made answer, I haue no garments
to clothe my selfe, neyther any man giueth me to eate: yet
if it may please the, Adrian, I haue founde meane to rub
my selfe. Adrian toke great compassion of that whiche he
did see, but much moze of that whiche he heard: and present-
ly he commaunded goods to be giuen him, and slaues to
serue him. And as enuie, is naturall vnto the poze, as
pzyde is common among the riche : The next day other
two poze men came before Adrian, rubbing them selues
amongst the pillars, in hope to receiue the like liberalitie :
whome

whom he willed to be called vnto him, commaunding the
one to scratch the other, and by turne to ease each other of
his itch. Vnto king Pharasmaco of the Parthians, Adrian
gaue great giftes : that is to say, fiftie Ellphants armed
with their towers, and thze hundred men of Hiberin in
the countrie of Spaine, which were of his guard.

CHAP. XI.

Of the prodigious and monstuous
things that happened du-
ring the Empire of
Antoninus.

Many trauels and hard aduentures folloiwed the Em-
perour Antoninus while he liued, and also in all his
kingdomes, in the time of his reigne: because Fortune is so
variable, that she neuer stayeth her wheele, or euer ceaseth
to be turning thereof. In the second yeare of his reigne, „
hunger was so great, so sharpe, and so generall thzough „
out all Italic, that thereof there dyed no lesse, then if it had „
bene of a fierce pestilence. Where was in Asia, so cruell, „
and so generall an earthquake, that many houses and „
buildings were subuerted, many people slayne, and not a „
fewe cities disinhabited : for the repayzing of which great „
hurt, he sent not onely money from the common wealthe „
of Rome, but also plentifully sent his treasure out of his „
owne coffers. In the moneth of Januarie, there was in „
Rome so furious a fire, that it burnt ten thousand houses, „
wherein there perished of men, women, and children, moze „
then tenne thousande. In the same yeare was burnt „
the stately place of Carthage, the one halfe of Antioche, „
and in a manner the whole citie of Narbona. In the mo- „
neth of August, there was at Rome great floudes : and be- „
sides, losse of their coyne, both reapt and unreapt. The „
riuer Tyber did so swell and ouerflowe, that one dayes „
losse was not repayzed in thze yeares. On the fourth „
of the monethe of Maie, there appeared a starre ouer „
Rome, cōteyning the quantitie of the wheele of a myll : „
which

" which threwe out sparkes so thicke and so continuall, that
 " it seemed rather the fire of a forge, then the shining of a
 " starre. In the first yeare of the Empire of Antoninus, in
 " Rome was bozne a childe with two heades, the one like a
 " man, the other like a dogge: but the straungenesse of the
 " matter did moze excede, in that, with one head he did cry
 " and barke, as a whelp: and with the other did weepe as a
 " childe. In the citie of Capua, a woman was bzought a bed
 " and deliuered of five sonnes. At that time was scene in A-
 " rabia, a great and a most huge serpent: which being scene
 " of many persons, vpon the height of a rocke, did eate halfe
 " his owne taile: in which yeare, there was throughout all
 " Arabia, a maruellous greate pestilence. In the ninthe
 " yeare of the Empire of Antoninus, in the citie of Mesia,
 " barley was scene to growe in the heads of their trees: in
 " such wise, that no tree bare fruite that yeare, but eares of
 " of barley. In the same yeare, there happened in the king-
 " dome of Artenitos, in a citie named Triponia: foure wilde
 " and vnkowne Lions to lye downe in the market place:
 " which became so tame, that they made them packehorse
 " to the mountaines for wood, and boyes became horsemen
 " vpon their backs. In the kingdome of Mauritania, a
 " childe was bozne, which had the heade turned backwards,
 " which liued, and was bred vp, and also suche as would ex-
 " ther see or speake with him, most conueniently did place
 " them selues at his backe: which notwithstanding, coulde
 " both see, speake, and go, but with his hands might not feede
 " him selfe. There died in Rome a Senatour, named Ru-
 " fus, a man of great wealth and credite, whiche after his
 " death did many times come to the Senate: sitting in his
 " wonted place, and clad with garments, after his olde fa-
 " shion, but was neuer hearde speake one worde: and this
 " vision continued in the Senate, full two yeares.

Of the warres that happened in the
 reigne of Antoninus Pius,
 and other his actes.

It chaunced vnto no Romaine prince, as it did vnto An-
 toninus: which alwayes remaining within the bounds
 of Italie, and commonly within Rome, was so beloued,
 feared, and serued of all straunge kings and kingdomes, as
 if personally he visited & had conquered the. In the fourth
 yeare of his empire, king Pharasmaco came to Rome, but
 onely to see Antoninus, and bzought and presented vnto
 him, so muche and so maruellous thinges, that the eyes of
 men were not satisfied in beholding, eyther their hearts in
 wishing them. The king of Parthians, had taken awaye
 much landes from the king of Armenia: who sent to com-
 plaine vnto the Romaines, as vnto their friends, allies, and
 confederates: for whome the Emperour Antoninus did
 write his letters vnto the king of Parthians, to cease to do
 wrong, and also to make restitution vnto the Armenians:
 whose letters being receiued and read, was presently obei-
 ed and perfourmed. King Abogarus one of the mightiest
 and most notable kinges of the Orient, the Emperour
 Antoninus did force to come to Rome: bycause that owing
 a great summe of money vnto one of his vassals, he would
 not come to account. The good Emperour Traiane, had
 constrained the Parthians to receiue their seate and royall
 crowne, at the handes of the Romaines: which subiection,
 the Parthians both denyed and refused: but Antoninus
 not only by letters, but also by apparant threatnings, did
 force them to yealde and consent vnto the obedience of
 Rome. Rometalce king of the Pindaroes, was accused in
 the Senate, of disloyaltie vnto the Romaines, in the warres
 they helde against the Rhodes: who coming vnto Rome,
 to quite him selfe, the good Antoninus did not onely con-
 firme him in his kingdome: but also did not permit, that

for any thing past, any motion should be made: affirming that his offence might not be so great, but that his submissive apparance did refozme the same. The Olbiopolites a people in Asia, held warre with y^e Taurocistes, allies of Rome: unto whom Antoninus sente succour by sea, and with assistance of the Romanes, subdued the Olbiopolites, who not only paid all charges of the warres, but also gaue hostages to maintaine peace. Antoninus neuer raised warre, but that first he sought to conserue peace, and praised not a little that saying of Scipio: that is to say, Hee rather wished the life of one citizen of Rome, then the death of a thousand enemies. When hee married his daughter Faullina unto Marcus Aurelius, he made a sumptuous feast, and gaue great rewards unto his men of warre. He held his sonne Marcus Aurelius in great reuerence, and would haue made him Consul, which hee refused, holding it for moze happie, to turne booke, then to appease nations.

After he had sent unto Calcedonie for the great Philosopher Apollonius, and had giuen him an house to dwell in solitarie, neare unto the riuer Tiber: Antoninus sent for him, who refusing to come sent answere, That scholars do vse to come to their maisters, and not maisters vnto their scholars: whereat Antoninus laughing said: A trim iesse, that Apollonius hath paste so many seas, from Calcedonie vnto Rome, and now refuseth from his house to come to mine. Although Apollonius were learned in Philosophie, yet was hee in his life very couetous: whereat when certaine in presence of the Emperour did murmur, hee answered: for very deare that Philosophers sell vs their Philosophie: alwayes their science is moze worthe which they teach vs, then the goods which we giue them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of the succession of the Empire,
and the occasion of his
death.

As y^e Emperour Antoninus in his youth was alwayes a friend vnto the vertuous, even so in his age carefully hee did seeke the conuersation of the wise: and therewith had no lesse care of publique matters, then of his owne priuate affaires. Generally hee was so liked and loued of all nations, that in all temples, in all walles, gates, and buildings, these foure letters were placed, namely V. A. C. R. which is to saye *Vita Antonini Conseruatur Respublica*: which is to saye, On the life of Antoninus, the whole weale of the Romane Empire dependeth. Leaving a part many good lawes, which he made for the Common wealth, for which purpose, hee had alwayes attendant about him, men in the lawes singularly learned, who among y^e chiefe was Vindemius Verus, Siluius Valente, Abolusius Metianus, Vlpus Marcellus, and Iabolinus: befoze whome hee set the lawes of all kingdomes, and of the most necessarie and approued, to take the choice to be established in his kingdomes. When he did institute any lawe, either ordeine any proclamation, he alwayes expresse therein so great reason, that his commaundements were neuer disobeyed, either his lawes reuoked. The cause of his death they say was after this maner: from Gallia Transalpina, that is to say, sweete Fraunce, they did present him certaine cheeses, whereof he eating at his supper moze then was conuenient, they ministred vnto him a perillous vomit, whereby they discharged his stomache not onely of meate superfluous, but also of bloud righte necessarie, which bred in him a furious feuer, and finding himselfe

„ in great weaknesse, without disposition to sleepe, either ap-
 „ petite to eate: he commaunded al the Senatours and chief
 „ gouernours, to be called vnto his presence: and before the
 „ all did commend the common wealth vnto Marcus Aure-
 „ lius his sonne, and Faustine his daughter. And making his
 „ testament in verie good order, wherein he gaue vnto his ser-
 „ uants great gifts, which being finished and perfourmed, he
 „ gaue vnto his daughter Faustine, the inheritaunce of all
 „ his lands which he possessed before he came vnto the Em-
 „ pire. His feauer increasing, and his strength and life wa-
 „ king, the fourth day of his sicknesse about none, beholding
 „ and viewing all the circumstances, and shutting his eyes
 „ as if he would sleepe, gaue vp the ghost: who was no lesse
 „ bewailed at his death, then he was beloued in time of life:
 „ and presently by consozmitie of the whole Senate, was in-
 „ tituled Holie: and all the people at the newes of his death,
 „ a vie in euery streete did grite, skrich, and cry, aduancing
 „ and magnifying his bountie, clemencie, benignitie, libera-
 „ litie, iustice, patience, prudence, and prouidence. Al the ho-
 „ nours were done vnto him, and all the famous titles were
 „ giuen him, that vpon any noble Prince had bene employed.
 „ And deserued that in the temple of Iupiter, a priest of his
 „ owne name should be institute. Also they built him a tem-
 „ ple, and dedicated vnto his honour the Circene playes, and
 „ a fraternitie: where they were all called Antonines.
 „ This Prince onely amongst all Princes, liued and dyed
 „ without sheading of bloude: and for likelnesse, compared
 „ vnto Numa Pompilius, not onely in good gouernement
 „ of the common wealth, but also for sinceritie of life.

The

*The life of the Emperour Commo-
 dus, the sonne of good Mar-*

cus Aurelius: compiled by Syr Antho-
 nic of Gueuara, byshop of Mondon-
 nedo, preacher, Chronicler, and
 Couñseler vnto the Emperour
 Charles the fift.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the byrth of the Emperour
 Commodus,



He Emperour Commodus had to his
 grandfather Annius Verus, and his fa-
 ther was the good Emperour Marcus
 Aurelius: and his mother was the right
 faire and renowned Faustine: on whose
 side, he was nephew vnto the Empe-
 rour Antoninus Pius, a man of a resour-
 med life, and very beneficiall vnto the common wealth of
 Rome. He was bozne in a certaine place named Lodie, on
 the eight day of September: at the time that his father,
 and Druſius his vnckle, were Consuls: the one gouerning
 matters of warre in Datia, and the other in reſourmation
 of cauſes in the common wealth. The Emperreſſe Fauſtine
 being great with childe, and neare vnto the time of her
 childe byrth, dreamed that ſhe was deliuered of certaine
 ſerpents, but eſpecially of one, moze fierce then the reſt: of
 which dreame, when his father Marcus Aurelius was in-
 fourmed, they ſay, that he ſayde: I feare me Fauſtine, that
 the ſonne of this birth, ſhall proue ſo fierce a Serpent, that
 ſhall be of power to commit a murder of our fame, and to
 poyſon the whole common wealth of Rome. The Aſtro-
 namers and ſpekromantiques, which in thoſe dayes were
 reſident

resident in Rome, they sayde and prognosticated many things of the byrth of the Emperour Commodus : and as it appeared afterwarde they sayde very little, in respect of that which followed : because this miserable and unfortunate Prince, in his manners, did rather resemble the infernall furies, then reasonable creatures. From his infancie his father Marcus Aurelius, carefully did trauell, in the learning and instruction of his sonne Commodus : for whiche purpose, he made inquisition throughout the whole Empire, for men learned in science, and of life and manners resourmed. His first scholemasters were, Onesicrates to teach him Græke, Capilus to instruct him in the Latine, Teyus to instruct him in the Art of Oratorie, Pulion to instruct him in Musike, Calphurnius to giue him order for behauiour on horsebacke, and Marcius to giue him rules for good manners : for that his father hauing no more sonnes, did not a little trauell, to frame in him suche perfection, as was due vnto a most noble and perfect Prince. But alas for pitie, that so many and so excellent men, neyther could perswade him to followe or embrace vertue, eyther separte him from his detestable vices. Right happie may we call those fathers, whose hap is to haue children inclined to vertue : for if they naturally be euill inclined, neyther doth it profite, that whiche their masters teach them, eyther wherefore their parents do correct them. After Faustine was conceiued with Commodus, she neuer ceased to say, howe painefull he was in breeding, and howe dangerous in his birth : and his nourishes for his byting when he did sucke, alwayes complained : in suche wise, that from the time of his first conception he was painefull, and tedious in conuersation. After Commodus was weined, and began to feede him self and learne to talke : presently it appeared, that he was harde of condition, intollerable to serue, ingrateful of benefites, a glutton in feeding, malicious in countenaunce, cruell in reuengement, impatient in iniuries, proude in commandements, and aboue all, filthy, double, and vncertaine in his talke,

talke. At the first yeare of his age, it was marvellous to see howe in so tender yeares, he was giuen to all manner of vice : that none whatsoeuer in times past, had vsed such industrie to proue eyther valiant or learned, as the unfortunate Commodus did trauell to be vicious. He was sharpe and of a delicate wit, and of excellent memorie : he was also, quarelling, valiant, and doughtie : most apparant in him from his infancie : for he was neuer seene to feare eyther water, or fire, sword, or wilde beastes. Nature also had indued him with naturall abilities, whiche valiantnesse if he had imployed in warres, eyther his memorie vnto learning, or his wit vnto vertues, he might haue proued an other Alexander in prowesse : or Plato in science, eyther Traiane in iustice : but by euill conuersation, he rightly resembled Brute the traytour, Nero the cruell, and Catiline the tyrant.

CHAP. II.

Of the honourable titles, giuen vnto the Emperour Commodus, in time of his youth.

NOwithstanding that Commodus was as yet but young, he was ouerthwart, quarellous, hatefull, and generally of the people not well liked. At the age of foure tene yeares, the Senate gaue him the title of Caesar : not for the merite of the sonne, but to yealde to the vertue of the father. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius, seeing his sonne increase in age, and decrease in vertue, aduised to place him in a college of priestes, with whom many sonnes of noble men were bred : but in the end, he as little profited, by the companie of priestes, as by the doctrine of his scholemasters : for he helde alwayes, enimitie with other mens counsell, and great friendship with his owne will. When his father came from the Parthike warres, in token of gratefulnesse, the Senate gaue vnto Commodus the title of Prince : which name vnto that day, was neuer giuen vnto the sonne of any Emperour.

The Romaine Princes held a custome, yearly to giue vnto the people for their sustentation, wheate, wine, and oyle, and other thinges, on which day alwayes in Rome they made great feastes. Commodus being then of fiftene yeares of age, and also placed in the temple of Traiane, gaue and diuided vnto the people, their accustomed shares of wheate, oyle, and wine: on that day Commodus was so feasted of all the Senate, as his father was the day he entered triumphing into Rome. When the Emperour Marcus Aurelius came from the warres of the Argonautes, he was receiued into Rome with great triumphe: and the more to honour and to do him pleasure, the Senate did ordeine, that his sonne Commodus, should with him be placed, in the chariot triumphant: & further & beside this, they did inuest him with the garment imperiall: that is to say, they did abilitate and elect him, that after the death of his father, his sonne Commodus should be Emperour. Marcus Aurelius went into Aegypt, and also into Assyria, to visite those countries, and lead with him his sonne Commodus. The Senate vnderstanding the noble works and deedes which he perfozmed in al those countries and prouinces, sent him a dispensatiō of the law Annuaria, which did prohibite, that no young man might be admitted to be Consul: to the end that freely he might establish his sonne Commodus, Romaine Consul. Commodus was but xviij. yeares of age, when he sawe him selfe clad with the imperiall garment, when he diuided shares of reliefe vnto the common people, when he was elected a Romaine Consul, and was placed with his father in the chariot triumphant: which foure titles and honours, were not given to honour the sonne, but to please the father. His proportiō was after this manner: his body long and slender, his face faire and well bearded, his eyes great and blacke, his handes white and long fingred, his haire yellow & thicke: finally, he was so faire and so gracious, that in his person there was no blemish, either in his life any thing to be praysed.

It was monstrous and also lamentable to see, howe this

this Prince was naturally endued with so high a witt, and of such perfect singularitie of proportion, and further, being named Commodus, howe to all purposes, he was incommodious, that according to the iudgement of al mē, he was not onely unworthie of so great and singular graces, but possessed his life with great indignitie.

Commodus had his lockes so perfect yelow, that when they were moued in the sunne with the ayre, they seemed not hayres, but thredes of golde: and many helde opinion, considering the incomparable beautie & finenesse of his person, and the liuely freshenesse of his face, that he had not bene ingendred by mankinde, but that the Gods had made him with their owne handes. At all times when he did ride through Rome, a vie both men & womē left their businesse, placing them selues at windowes, vpon houses, and all strættes, to beholde him, as though they had neuer sene him: but as much as they praised him for his beautie: so muche did they dispraise and abhorre him for his wicked life. Commodus was farre out of fauour with his father Marcus Aurelius, and too muche cherished of his mother Faustine: wherein bothe the one and the other had great reason: for doubtlesse, he gathered too small profite of his fathers counsell, and folowed too much the libertie of his mother. Commodus had another brother named Verissimus, vnto whome, if he had not dyed young, the father had left the Empire: but so the destinies did ordeine, that he died which deserued to liue, and that he liued which deserued to dye. When in the presence of Marcus Aurelius, talke was moued of Princes that had bene honourable and happye: some praising Alexander, that ouercame Darius: others, Scipio that subdued Haniball: others, Iulius Caesar that conquered Pompeius: others, Augustus that defeated Marcus Antonius: Marcus Aurelius made this answer: I holde the Emperour Nerua more happie then all the rest, and for no other cause, but for that he adopted Traiane for his sonne, in such wise, that he elected whome he liked, and

not as I moste sorrowful, that must take such as they haue giuen mee.

CHAP. III.

¶ Howe Commodus did inherite the Empire of his father Marcus Aurelius, and of a certeine speech which he vsed vnto the Senate.

*I*n the xvi. yere of the reigne of Marcus Aurelius, and in the 63. yere of his age, warre was raised in Pannonia, which at these dayes is otherwise named Hungarie: in which warres the good Emperour woulde goe in his owne person, leading also with him his sonne Commodus, according vnto his accustomed manner, that by the taste of trauels in the warres, he should bende and yelde him selfe to conserue peace. The Emperour in the greatest heate and furie of those martiall affaires, was soudainly stricken with a deadly sicknesse, and in fewe dayes deputed of his life: Commodus being then in so tender yeares, that he neither felt what he lost, either the daunger where in he stode. At the death of Marcus Aurelius, his sonne Commodus was elected Prince, and confirmed Cesar, whereof proceeded (but chiefly for affection they bare vnto his father) that presently he was obeyed of all the armies, as true Emperour: notwithstanding they all suspected, he should be the losse of their common wealth, and procure to his person some euil conclusion. Before the emperour Aurelius died, he left his sonne Commodus commended vnto certeine tutors, as well fortunately to finishe those warres begonne, as also to assist and counsell him in the gouernement of the common wealth, because his father comprehending the sonne, did feare, that leauing his enemies, he would abandon him selfe vnto vices: and although the common wealth were forgotten, would dedicate him selfe vnto the pleasures of his person.

The

The exequies for the good Prince Marcus Aurelius being celebrated, and sumptuous sacrifices also offered for him vnto the Gods, Commodus was aduised by his counsell, to vse some speache vnto all his Senatours, and capitaines attendant in those warres: who being aduanced vpon an high skaffolde, began after this manner to make his Oration.

The Oration of Commodus made to the Senate.

The vniuersall calamitie, and the particular sorrowe, which for the death of my father, this sorrowfull day doth represent, is no lesse common vnto you then to mee: for if I haue lost a pittifull father, you haue lost a righteous and a iust Prince. My losse is not small, that haue lost such a father, but much more haue you lost, that haue lost such a Prince: because the hurte of one is tollerable, but that which redoundeth to the offence of many, for euer is to be lamented. Experience teacheth vs, that of an hundred fathers, there be not twaine, that are euill vnto their children: and by the contrarie, of an hundreth princes, ye shall hardly finde twaine, that exquisitely shal proue good for their subiectes. If this be true, as it is moste true, that I haue saide: it is iust, and verie iust, that if sonnes lament the death of their parentes, with teares of their eyes: that subiectes bewaile the death of their good Princes, with drops from their heartes.

Howe humble my father hath bene vnto the Gods, how seuer with his wicked, howe affable with good men, how patient in iniuries, how grateful for service,

seruice, howe bountifull in his house, and howe zealous for the common wealth : although you haue seene, you haue not thoroughly comprehended : for that good Princes be not exactly knowen, vntil they be lost . My father was so fortunate and venturous in the warres , so singular in science , so sincere and cleane of life , and so perfecte a louer of the common wealth, that the dead had enuie at the liuing, not of the life which they possessed, but of the Prince which they inioyed. It may not be denied , but that the Romaine Empire is in debt and beholding vnto many Princes past : but I saye and affirme, that Rome is more in debt vnto my father, aboue all other : for others made the common wealth riche , but my father made it vertuous: others repaired walles, but he reformed manners : and that which is more, others brought to passe that Rome was feared of all strange nations: but my father framed , that Rome of all in generall was both serued and beloued. You all well vnderstande, what difference there goeth betwixt voluntarie, and forceable seruice : for as my father did vse to saye, it is more tollerable to be commaunded of suche as loue vs , then to be serued of such as abhorre vs. My father hath now finished his iourney, and certainly , moste perfectly hath runne out his race: herein ye may conceiue his inestimable loue towards you, in that he commended mee his onely sonne into your handes : and if I followe and perfourme his will, he gaue mee not the Empire to commaund you, but to the ende I should serue you , for he expressely gaue in charge, that my Empire should tende more to your vtilitie, then to mine owne profite, humbly beseeching the immortal Gods, to make mee

mee such , as my father at his death commaunded, & as you Romaines do wishe and desire : because there is no man in this worlde so euil , that desireth not to be gouerned by a Prince that is good. You with me, and I with you, in the manner of our gouernement after his death, he did verie well expresse in the time of his life, directing me by commaundement to call you fellowes, and forbidding you to call me Lord : for his desire was, that you should fauour , and counsell me as a sonne : and that I should deale with you as with brethren, and trust & beleue you as fathers. The loue which the gods do beare vs , the same my father alwayes vsed with you: that is to say, he did so tenderly loue you all , as if ye all had beene but one man : whereof it foloweth that you are not so much in his debt, for that which he did for you, as for y^e hee woulde haue done, and coule not. I remember me, that many times being a childe , my father delighted that ye should take, imbrace, kisse, and cherish me: to the end that imbracing of me in your armes, ye shuld place me in your hartes : and also, that I finding your armes open , shoulde not vniustely close my bowels from you. My Empire is not as the Empire of others, y^e is, I neither bought it with money , either obtained it by voices, or wonne it by armes, or toke it by guile: no doubtles, it is not so : for as others obtaine by aduēture, naturally I inherite. You haue great reason in minde to be satisfied , and in harte contented , since ye haue a prince not deliuered by the hands of strangers, but borne in your owne houses . I confesse that to proue good, it auaieth muche to desire and also procure to be good : but ioyntly herewith I saye, that to be a prince, it necessarily requireth to haue the fauour

faunour of his kingdome: for otherwise, if straungers do repugne, and subiects do not succour, it may be in his owne handes to be a good man, but not in his power to be a good Prince.

My father was olde, and I am yong, wherof it followeth, y more glorie redoundeth vnto you, by yealding obedience vnto me, then vnto my father: bicause obedience done vnto him, proceeded of the merit of his authoritie: but that which yee shall yealde vnto mee, proceedeth of your owne pure vertue. All the rewardes, honours, and offices, that my father gaue in time of his life from henceforth I confirme them vnto such as hold them: for that being (as he was) both holy and vertuous, the Gods aproouing all his actes, it were not iust, they should be disallowed of men. Neither in the dignities of the Senate, the captainshippes of the armyes, the offices of my house, there is nothing to be sayd, much lesse to be altered: only one thing remaineth betwixt my father and mee, which is, that I confirme his good works, & change my vnreformed maners. Let vs ioyntly put on noble minds, to giue good end vnto the warres whiche my father hath so happily begunne, which being finished, wee will all goe to our ease and solace, and inioy the pleasures of Rome: whiche warres, if wee should leaue vndone, although the hurte should redound to mee, the faulte should proceede and be imputed vnto you. I will not saye more vnto you, my friendes & companions, but that I request and desire you, alwayes to commend vnto your memorie, the greates loue that my father hath borne you, and the good dealing he alwayes vsed with you: that from his antiquitie, my tender yeres, and your greates vertue, ye may

maye frame a Prince, good for your selues, and profitable for the common wealth.

Finally, I saye that if ye haue my father in remembrance, ye will neuer forget or disobey mee his sonne: for comparing his vertue with my libertie: doubtlesse and without comparifon, ye shal be much more perswaded by his noblenesse, then altered by my youthfulness.

This talke being finished, much money was throsen out amongst the armyes because, on such dayes, it was amongst the Romaines much vsed. The Romaine Princes did not much varie from reason, to giue and promise much money in the beginnunge of their Empires: for as much as the malice of man is greedie and couetous: they are more perswaded withe a little money which is giuen, then with many wordes that are spoken vnto them.

CHAP. III.

Of a certeine famous and notable speeche, vsed by one of his tutors: for that he would leaue the warre of Panonia vnfinished.

All the officers of the Senate, and all the captaines of the armie did marueilously mitigate their sorowe, for the death of their moste louing Lorde Marcus Aurelius, when they hearde his sonne Commodus talke with so greates singularitie: not onely for that he confirmed, whatsoeuer his father had done, but also because he promised by imitation most naturally to resemble him.

But what and howe great difference was betwixt the wordes of this Prince at that instant, & the workes which after he perfourmed in his life, was much & too much: for nothing was more aparant, then that al his good wordes and

and woordes, bypon that day did finithe and take an ende, because from that day, he did not onely speake euil, and do euill: but that which is worst of all, it was neuer seene, that euer he had any motion or desire to do good.

Many be wicked, and desire to amende: but this person so unhappie and solde to sinne, was not to day so euil: that he desired and procured not to morrowe to be worse. Certaine dayes after he had used this talke vnto the army, he permitted to be gouerned by the aduise of his tutors: but euen shortly after he both forgate the commatiement of his father, and his promise made vnto his men of warre: for that he lost not onely the feare of his tutors, but also the loue and shame vnto his friendes. Commodus when he did inherite the Empire, was weake, delicate, and of tender yeares: but notwithstanding did vse such licence and libertie of life, that decayed his person, and dammed his inclination and manners. His tutors and gouernours finding the offence that ensued therof, aduised to remoue the mischief by information and counsel in secrete: but so peruerse was his condition, that for their gentle admonition, he did presently abhorre them. Nowe when Commodus had publicely lost his feare vnto tutors, his obedience vnto gouernours, and reuerence vnto his friendes, he would neither beholde the one, or speake with the other: but that all his communication, and conuersation was with persons light, young and vicious, vnto whome he committed all his secretes: who began to perswade him to leaue the warres, to go to Rome, renuing his memorie with the opulencie of Italie, and the beautie of Rome: and ioyntly did murmur at the land of Panonia, saying, it was barren, drye, colde, poore, and contagious: and that to drinke a pitcher of water, they were first constrained to breake the Ice.

With these and suche like wordes, Commodus was easily perswaded to leaue the warres of Panonia, and take his waye into Italie: and to bring the same to effect, calling his tutors and gouernours into his presence,

fained

fained to haue greate suspicion, that while he remained in y^e warrs, some others should conspire & rebel in Rome: in respect whereof to aboyde y^e worst, he was determined first to assure him selfe of his owne countries, before hee conquered straung kingdoms. So greate sorowle entered the hartes of the gouerners and capteines, that were present at that assembly, that heauily castinge their countenances on the ground, they were not able to aunswere one word. A Senatour named Pompeyanus being present at that counsell, who had married Lucilla, daughter vnto Marcus Aurelius, and elder sister vnto Commodus: besides his aliance in marriage, he was a man both rich, wise, valiaunte, and aunciente: and therewithall had greate boldnesse in that which he did, and no lesse credit in that which he saide. This Consul Pompeyanus, beholding all the assembly in great silence, thought good to take in hand, to aunswere the Emperour Commodus after this manner.

The Oration of Pompeyanus to Commodus.

Oh my sonne, and my Lord, for thee to haue desire to see Rome, & to go into Italie, is no meruel: for the same which thou desirest, all we haue long wished, but folowing and imbracing reason, we endure not to be overcome or carried away with sensualitie. I call thee sonne, because I haue bred and nourished thee from thy youth: and I call thee Lord, because thou art Lorde of my mother Rome: by the one I am bounde as a faithfull vassall to followe and obeye thee, and by the other thou art bound as vnto a good father to beleeue me: and may it please the immortall gods, that thou haue as ready an harte to be-

L.i.

leeue

leue my counsels, as I haue, redilie to obeye thy commaundements.

Many yeares I did folowe and serue thy father, and also am fully perswaded, that my seruice was gratefull vnto his harte, and did not onely tenderly loue me, but also frankly gaue and recompenced me: for which reason, vnto him and his house I will neuer become ingratefull: and am determind, one for one to counsell thee, in that which thou oughtest to doe, and afterwardes employ my life where in thou shalt commaund me. In that which I shal now say, if I haue not that reuerence, that from a vassall is due vnto the Lorde, at the leaste I shall haue that loue that a father doth owe vnto his sonne: and if nowe thou shalt be displeased with my words, and shalt take them to other ende then they be spoken, the time shall come, wherein thou shalt repente thee, for not beleeuing the old Pompeyanus, and that thou hast followed thine owne will and iudgment. But comming to the purpose, thou seest (moste souereigne prince) that all which be present, neither do beholde or answer thee, which may not proceede, but that either they knowe not to speake, or dare not answere, or els they thinke thou wilt not beleue them: any of which, is too muche hurtefull and daungerous: because it is a faulte in a prince, to demaunde counsell of him that knoweth not to giue it: but it is muche woorse when they dare not speake that which is meete to be saide: but that which is woorse of all, is, when a prince knoweth not to take the benefite of good counsell.

If thou hadst in remembraunce, what thy father commaunded, it were superfluous at this present to aduaunce

aduaunce my selfe to giue thee counsell: and I dread, that as thou halte made no accompt of his commaundement, in muche lesse estimation thou wilt holde my request: but in the ende I will say my opinion, and after wardes, make choyce of what shall, or may please thee.

My sonne, call to remembrance whose sonne thou wert, that is to say, of my Lorde Marcus Aurelius: for if thou doest consider that thou hadst to father so good a father: thou art muche bounde, being his sonne, to proue a very good sonne. Thou didest inherite of thy father his house, his goodes, his estate, and his memorie: all which doubtlesse is verie little, if thou didst not inherite his noblenesse: because, for thy onely vertue thou art to be honoured & obeyed: as touching the rest, as thou didst inherite in one day thou maist lose in one houre. The glorie which thou receiuest, to haue so good a father, so neare and in companie with the Gods, the same shoulde hee haue there, to haue so good a sonne here amongst men: for other wise, as muche pleasure as thou takest of his glorie, so much grieve shall he receiue of thy infamie.

Thou wilt (my sonne) leaue this warre whiche thy father hath begonne, and wilt go to enioy the delights of Rome: I sweare by the immortall Gods, I may not imagine y vnworthinesse of him that put the same into thy heade: because suche and so greate an enterprise as this, ought not to be leste vnfinished, either if it were not begonne, vnperfourmed.

Thou mayest not denie, but that thy father was wise, aduised, patient, & valiante, which being so

in my iudgmente it shoulde be right iuste, that thou shouldest aduenture thy goods, where in he aduentured and also lost his life. The affaires of Italie are in peace, in Rome ther is no mutinous person, in Asia, & Africa, there is no common wealth out of quiet: the cause therof procedeth, of y^e great affectiō which they did beare vnto thy father: and of the greate power, y^e here they vnderstand his sonne doth possesse, which if thou forsake, & lose therewithall so great reputation: thou shalt leaue the Barbarians in peace, and make warre against thy self. If thou (my sonne) wilt obtaine rest and a good life, susteine and conserue that which thy father did winne and gette in time of his life: and thou shalt finde, that he conquered all, wonne all, recouered all, and made all plaine: and it is not vniustly saide, that he had all: for if he conquered walles with armour, he wonne hartes with good woorkes and noble deedes. My sonne, what wilt thou seeke out of Panonia, y^e thou mayest not find in Panonia: if thou desire to see Rome, I giue thee vnderstanding, that true Rome is where the Emperour of Rome is resident: because Rome is not holden for Rome, for the stately walles where with it is compassed, but for the heroicall men wher with it is gouerned.

If thou wilt haue riches, behold here is y^e treasure and the collectors thereof. If thou wilt haue men of counsell, here is the whole sacred Senate. If thou wilt haue men of noble mindes, there are none in the world, as those of thine armie.

If thou wilt haue lustie younge men of thine age, here are the sonnes of all the noble Romaines,

If

If thou wilt fishe, behold here the great riuer Danubie, if thou wilt hunte and chace the wilde beaste, here are sharpe mountaines, if thou wilt haue faire women, behold here women both of Rome and Germanie moste beautifull, If this be true, as it is most true, wherefore my sonne wilt thou departe from Rome, to go and seeke Rome? If vpon the soudaine thou leaue this warre, thou shalt staine thy fame with a greate blemish, and also put thy common wealth in great daunger: because the barbarous shal thinke, that thy power is not sufficiēt to ouercome them, and also that thou darest not attempt to assaile them. Thy father lefte thee with greate power, and greate reputation in the Empire: and thou (my sonne) shouldest rather bend and fixe thine eyes to conserue thy reputation, then thy potencie: because thy power only profiteth against thine enimies: but thy reputation profiteth to conquer enimies, & to conserue friends. And thou oughtest not to conceiue or think that y^e power of the Romaine princes is so great, that it lieth in their handes at their owne likinge to make warre or peace with the barbarous nations: bycause there is nothing wherein fortune is lesse correspondent then Martiall affaires. The good princes ought to do muche, trauell muche, and also aduenture muche, to avoyde warre and to obtaine peace: but after they are determined to attempt and prosecute the same, they ought to respecte nothing more then the finishing thereof: because many euiles are cutte off, by a good warre, which may not be finished or brought to passe with a suspicious or a doubtfull peace. It is greate folly for any man to endaunger him selfe, onely vpon the hope of a remedie: but much more is it, when a man

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hath allredie thruste him selfe into daunger, not to seeke to escape the perill thereof.

CHAP. V.

How Commodus left the warres of Panonia to go to Rome.

After that Pompeyanus had ended his Oration, Commodus did shew him selfe offended, for the opening thereof in so common assembly, and pleased for the integrity of his wordes, giuing for an answer, that for the present he would deferre his departing: untill ripe counsell, should determine some other matter. Not withstanding his small age, he was of such dissimulation in matters he would bringe to passe, and so double in his wordes which he did speake, that the answer which he made, was not to the intente to stay his departing, but to confirm them in negligence and want of prouidence. It was published in the whole armie, what Pompeyanus had sayd vnto Commodus, and that the departing into Italie was deferred untill the warres were finished: of which newes some were pleased, and some displeased: because the auncient and vertuous wished all thinges to be done to the honour of the common wealth: but the younger persons and suche as were vitious, had desire to go to the vices of Rome. Some remaining quiet, and others negligent, Commodus determined to proceede with his purpose: and wrote certaine letters vnto Rome, wherein he commaunded, they should order his house and prepare for his coming: and he did also write, that they should relieue him with some monye, for that with the warres he was much consumed. His letters being dispatched vnto Rome, Commodus commaunded all the valiant captiues to come vnto his presence, with whome he did communicate the manner

manner and fashion which he would vse with those barbarous people, to frame them to yeald to some honest truce: & if a better conclusion might not be obtained, to finish the same with a peace dearly bought. After that messengers had passed betwixt Commodus and the Barbarians diuersly to and fro: in the ende it was resolved, that hee rendered many countries, that had bene taken from the enimies, and also gaue the a great summe of money: and they promised to continue friends, but not vassals vnto the Romaines. This conclusion being knowne and published, was not a little grieuous vnto all noble minds of the armie: because most truly the capitulation thereof was too infamous, that in respect of the state of those warres it was not onely not to be done, either as much as to be talked of. Of these infamous conclusions, and the paymente of so greate summes of money, he gaue no parte therof vnto the Senate or gouernours to vnderstande, but vnto such men of warre as he vnderstande had desire to be gone, and such as he thought durst not repugne. The same beinge published that Commodus would depart towards Rome, the whole armie was so altered, that none would remaine in the frontiers, but that every man without order, prepared with greate hast to returne into Italie: in such wise that Commodus, not onely ceased to continue hostilitie against the Barbarians, but also left no garrisons, to guard the Romaine people. The Emperour Commodus parted from Panonia to go to Rome, the tenth day of the moneth of Februarie: and so greate was his desire to come to Rome, that in many cities which were in his way, where they came forth to receiue him, he would not onely stay to heare what they would say, either receiue of which they would present: but also alone and disguised, in poste would passe their streets.

Incredible was the pleasure which they receiued in Rome, when Commodus did write of his partinge from Panonia: but much greater was their ioye, when they vnderstande that he was at hande: for remembryng

that he was borne amongst them, and that they had bred and nourished him, and that he was the sonne of so good a father: they helde it for certaine, that in his time Rome (more then euer it did) should flourish, and that euery man in particular, should augment his estate. In respect of the greates loue and reuerence they did beare vnto the father Marcus Aurelius, and the reporte blowne amongst the Romaines of his singular beautie of his sonne Commodus, they did so extremly desire to see him, that he held him selfe most happy that came furthest off to receiue him. Marche was halfe past when Commodus came to Rome, at which time trees do yealde forth their flowers; and fields their fragrant smells: against the day that he should enter Rome, the Romaines had made all wayes euen and cleane, and banqueting houses deckt with boughes to eate and drinke in: the Senatours came forth in great order, the women of Rome in sumptuous apparel, & the townesmen all with boughes and greene bzaunches, in such manner they receiued him that day with as greates pleasure and joy, as if he had entered in his chariote triumphant triumphinge of all Asia. After he entred the citie, that whiche he firste did, was, in visitinge all the temples within the same: chiefe he stayed in the temple of Iupiter, where he offered sumptuous sacrifices, all the noble men of Rome being present. Also he did visite certaine auncient sepulchers, especially the sepulchre of Adrian, of Traiane, of Antoninus Pius his grandfather, of Faustina his grand mother, & Faustina also his mother: and some thinges were in them euill handled, or decayed, he commaunded to be repaired and made better. Joyning vnto the sepulchre of Adrian, he commaunded another sepulchre to be made, riche and sumptuous, wherein the bones of his father Marcus Aurelius should be translated, which sepulchre being finished, and hauing in remembraunce howe greates loue Marcus Aurelius did beare them, and the good & sincere dealing he vsed with them, the Romaines did visite, honour, and helde his sepulchre in as greates reuerence, as their

their chiefest temples. This done, Commodus on a day went vnto the Senate, saying and giuinge them warning, that in all and for all thinges, they should followe the ordinance of his father, and performe and execute all that he had commaunded them: because after this manner, the imperial state should be conserued as concerning straunge nations: and the common wealth wel governed amongst them selues. Also hee commaunded all Iudges of Rome to come before him, charginge and commaundinge them, that without all exception of persons, equally to giue sentence accordinge to iustice: with a warninge, that if any of them should presume to attempt the contrarie, to haue his sentence reuoked, and his person chastised.

The Romaines receiued greates delight, to see how Commodus was obedient vnto the Gods, a loue of temples, grateful vnto his friends, and zelous of the common welth: but alas for sorowe, so fewe were the monethes, and also the dayes, that this gracious heate endured, that it seemed rather they had dreamed it, then that he had done or performed it.

CHAP. VI.

Howe Commodus was cruell, and of the cruelties which he vsed.

In the ninthenth yeare of his age and the thirde yeare of his Empire, he aduerted the Senate, that he would visite all the citie in Italie: at his departinge from Rome, he went vnto the mountaines to hunte, on whiche chace, many were the dayes that he imployed, much money hee spent, but muche and many more were the vices which he there committed.

Thre monethes and odde dayes he went a fishing at riuers, passinge the fieldes, and huntinge in mountaines: in all whiche time he neuer entered citie, towne, or village, either slepte in anye house: and then sent his

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„ commaundment vnto the Senate to prepare a triumph,
 „ for that he woulde enter triumphinge into Rome: affir-
 „ ming, that he better deserued triumph, for killing beasts
 „ that did eate cozne, then other Emperours for killinge of
 „ men that liued in townes. The Senate neither might or
 „ durst, but to receiue him with great triumph: & the abho-
 „ minable Commodus, most obviously in the chariot trium-
 „ phant, placed a younge man named Anterus, and o-
 „ perly, after the manner of man and wife, did imbrace eche
 „ other. In his progresse and pastimes whiche he vsed in
 „ those mountaines, he lost no parte of his euill customes:
 „ but rather added euill vpon euill: that is to say, the fierce-
 „ nesse which he recouered in slaying of wilde beastes, after
 „ his comming to Rome he imploied in murdering of ma-
 „ ny honourable personages. As touchinge the first, it is to
 „ wete he banished xiiii. Consuls, posselt their goods, and
 „ made a rewarde therof vnto his strumpets, & other infa-
 „ mous persons: whereof sūe by importunate suite, of his
 „ gracious fauour were restozed to their houses, and short-
 „ ly after he cutt off their heads. There was in Rome a
 „ Senatour named Birrius, a man in y days of Marcus Au-
 „ relius much esteemed, who deserued to marry with a sister
 „ of Commodus: who for that he warned and informed
 „ Commodus of his euill and foule life, he commaunded
 „ him and all his friends to be slaine: and also al the alies and
 „ seruants vnto his sister.

„ From the time of Commodus father, there was re-
 „ maining a certaine pfect named Ebutianus a man moste
 „ truely auncient in yeares, and no yonglinge in vertues:
 „ Commodus being aduertised that Ebutianus had much la-
 „ mented the death of the Consul Birrius; vnto whom Com-
 „ modus sent a messenger to say vnto him: that he woulde
 „ vnderstand of him, if he woulde wepe for the death
 „ whiche he sente him, as he had wept with the life which
 „ he possessed: whiche being saide, by the commaundment
 „ of Commodus he cutte off his head.

„ Another Senatour named Apolaustus, who also sozow-
 ed

ed the death of Ebutianus, Commodus commaunded to
 be slaine.

The daye that Apolaustus was executed certeine
 young gentlemen of Commodus his chamber, when they
 vnderstode of execution done vnto suche as mourned
 for Ebutianus: they deuised to make a shewe of great toy
 for the death of Apolaustus to escape the like daunger:
 whereof Commodus being aduertised, he commaunded
 their thzotes to be cutte: saying y for any acte done of the
 prince, they ought neither to laugh or weepe: but heare
 and see and holde their peace. Also he slewe Seruilius and
 Dolius with all their parentage which were descended of
 the linage of Silla: and he slewe Antius Lupus Petroni-
 us, and Mamertus, with all their bande, which were of
 the linage of Marius, affirminge, that he executed the Sil-
 lans, to reuenge the Marians, and executed the Mari-
 ans to reuenge the Sillans.

There was in Rome a younge gentleman a cousin to
 Commodus, both very saire and valiant: and one saying
 by chaunce vnto Commodus, that Mamertus Antoni-
 anus his cousin, did resemble him in fauour, and imitate
 him in valiantnesse: he commaunded them both present-
 ly to be slaine, affirming, that he shoulde be an Emperour
 that did so resemble and compare with him. Amongst o-
 ther aunciente Romaines, there were sixe olde Consuls,
 whose names were, Alius Fuscus, Celiū Felices, Lucius
 Torquatus, Alatiū Ropianus, Valerius Bassianus and
 Patulius Magnus, who for their impotencie were not a-
 ble to come vnto the Senate, he commaunded them all to
 be slaine: saying, that he was bounde to do in Rome, as
 the good gardener in his orchard: y is to say, that the drie
 oldetree must be cutte or puld vp by the roote and cast
 into the fire. In the gouernement of Asia, the Senate had
 placed Sulpitius Crassus, Iulius Proculus, and
 Claudius Lucanus, as praconsuls to geneue those
 prouinces: whome withe their families, Commodus
 gaue order to be murthered with poison: because in
 his

his presence they were praised, for their deeds done in Asia: and also for communication, which they had of his evils committed in Rome. Marcus Aurelius visiting the kingdom of Achaia, had borne unto him a peace, and daughter of his sister, named Annia Faustina, whom also Commodus commanded to be slaine: but the quarrell that he had to take away her life, was, for that she had married without his licence. On a certaine day upon the bridge of Tiber, were fourtene noble Romaines talking and passinge the time: and Commodus at that instant passinge that way, saide unto one that he should demaunde as of him selfe, whereof they talked: unto whom they answered, that they were recountinge the vertues of Marcus Aurelius, and that they had great sorowe of his death. Commodus hearing this answer, presently and out of hande, commanded all the xiiii. gentlemen to be hurled headlong ouer the bridge into the riuer: affirming, that they could not speake well of his father, but that they must speake euil of him which was his sonne. He woulde many times play with the sword players: and betwixte ieste and earnest he killed a thousand of them. He was so cruell of nature, and so doughtie in his deeds, that he had no scruple to kill, either feare to be slaine. Commodus perceiuinge that all the Romaines fled, either to see, heare, speake, or to be conuersant with him, to no other ende but to auoyde occasion to be slaine at his handes: he remembered to inuente a conspiracie, which is to weete, to say and publishe, that many had conspired against him to his destruction: all which he commanded to be strangled and cutt in peeces, notwithstandinge that any suche conspiracie was neuer thought of or intended.

CHAP. VII.

Of a certaine conspiracie attempted against Commodus, and of Perennius his most fauoured counsellour.

Amongest

Amongst other sisters, Commodus had one named Lucilla who in her life of her father Marcus Aurelius, married with a Consul whose name was Lucius Verus, whom he admitted with him selfe to be companion in the Empire, by such meane as Lucilla was intituled Emperesse, & her husbande Emperour. But a yeare and thre monethes, Lucius Verus liued as companion in the Empire with Marcus Aurelius, his father in lawe: in suche wise, that euen then, when he was very younge, he losse his life, and Lucilla as younge became a widowe. Lucius Verus being dead, Marcus Aurelius married his daughter Lucilla unto a noble Romaine named Pompeyanus, a man verie wise in letters, experte in armes, and aunciente in yeares. After the death of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus succeeding in the Empire, and not then married, did allwayes intreate his sister Lucilla as Emperesse, for as muche as she had beene wife unto an Emperour: and also being an auncient custome, continued in the malice of man, that although the state be finished, and the goods consumed, notwithstanding folly remaineth. Thus stood the case: Commodus was after married unto a Romaine ladie named Crispina, unto whom from thence forth the honour was done, that was accustomed to be vsed unto Lucilla, & is to say, in the Theatre or open place to sitt in the chiefest seate, to receiue gifts & presents of free men, and by the ways to haue torchlight, and to be recited by name in prayers made in Temples. Forfall was the enuie that Lucilla receiued, to beholde the honour imperiall which she had once in possession, to be remoued, and passe unto her sister Crispina: and from thence forth, all her deuice, practise, and speach, tended but to ridde her brother Commodus of his life, and Crispina her sister in lawe of her honour.

Where was at courte with the prince a young gentleman of Rome, of noble bloude, & of face beautifull, with whom it was byruted, Lucilla bedd vn honest loue: his name was Quadratus, the sonne of a very riche father, unto whom

whome shee discovered the secreete of her intent, to kill her brother Commodus, because he persecuted her husbande Pompeyanus, & the Emperesse Crispina did deadly hate her. Quadratus desirous to do Lucilla a pleasure, consented to perforce that act, & the order which he used therein was, that he ioynd in counsell with the sonne of a Senatur named Quincianus, a yong man both doughtie & valiant: who shoulde vpon the souldaine, with a sword drawne, enter vpon Commodus in his chamber, with these wordes: This present the Senate sendeth thee: and at the instant to cutt off his life. Quincianus accepted this enterpryse, that is to say, to kill the Emperour Commodus: but failed at the time of the execution thereof: for notwithstanding he had courage sufficiēt to enter y chamber with a sword drawen, yet to perforce the dede his hart was dismayde: in such wise, that the treason was vttered and the dede vpperformed.

Quincianus was presently taken, and discovered the conspiracie that Quadratus and Lucilla had deuised for the destruction of the Emperour Commodus. And for as much as Quincianus was sonne vnto a Senatour, Commodus did beare so mortall hatred vnto the Senate, that from thence forth, whosoever named him selfe a Senatour, he helde him for a traitour. Immediately after Commodus beganne to reigne, a warlike capteine named Perennius, fell into his fauour: who in martiall affaires was berie experte, and of inclination and condition no lesse perverse: for his pride was intollerable, & his couetousnesse, insatiable. The fauour, conuersation, and credite, that Perennius had with Commodus was to the greate prejudice of al the Romaine people: because if Commodus were cruell, Perennius was most cruell: if Commodus had yre, Perennius did perswade to take vengeance: and beyonde al the rest, did not disuade from vice, but inuented new deuises to leade vnto wickednesse. Pompeyanus being a mā both honourable and aunciente, and husband vnto Lucilla sister vnto Commodus, the Emperour did beare him

some reuerence: and ioyntly therewith, Lucilla had the same of great riches, in money & iewells: wherof proceeded no small displeasure vnto Perennius, whome hardely indured the estimation of others in the courte of the Emperour Commodus.

Where vpon, the treason being discovered, he with greate impatience did incite the Emperour Commodus, on Pompeyanus and Lucilla to execute cruel iustice, which he incessantly perswaded, not for iustice sake, but to finish y fauour which the Emperour did beare vnto Pompeyanus, and to gette vnto him selfe the treasure of the ladie, Lucilla.

When princes be in yre, and furious, they haue much to consider, of whome they demaunde counsell: because, not a few but manie times it hapneth, that the priuate and fauoured courtiour giueth counsell vnto the prince, not so much for the fauour he beareth to the execution of iustice, as for the reuengement of his owne cruell and damned harte. The tyrant Perennius beholding Commodus inflamed with yre, did knowe to take the profite and benefite of time: that is to say, Pompeyanus, Lucilla, Quadratus, Quincianus and al their affinitie, brothers, friends & seruants, he caused to be slaine, put to death, their goods to be confiscate, in such wise, that he was not onlie reuenged of all his enemies, but also applied vnto him selfe all their treasure.

After the death of these persons, all the affaires of the Empire were governed at the will, wisdom, & pleasure of Perennius: who grew to be a lord so absolute of the Empire, that al ambassages that came to Commodus, he only heard them: and all letters missiue he read and answered them, in such manner, that Commodus bare y name of Emperour, & Perennius did enioy the empire. All offices and rewards being giuen by the handes of Perennius, procured seruite and diligence from all men, y in as much, as he that might do most, saued most: but he was so harde of condition, and of golde and riches so cruel

and couetous, that of mere grace he gaue no office, but by the weight of pure money alwayes did sell the same: and to him that woulde not buy, hee gaue presentes more deare then the money which he demaunded. Perennius had enrolde the names of all the moneyed men in Italie, which if they did not present him some riche iuells, hee procured them to be placed in offices: wherein he did seeko quarells, to spoile them of their liues, and to robbe them of their goods.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a conspiracie that Perennius wrought against the Emperour Commodus.

In verie shorte time Perennius became very riche, but his presumption and riches being examined and laide together, without comparison muche greater was the pride whiche he did shewe, then the treasures which he possessed. Commodus had suche confidence in Perennius, that he not onely committed vnto him the gouernement of the whole common wealth, but also the order and honour of his house: in so muche that Perennius was of the one and the other so absolute & so dissolute, that he was not contented to robbe Commodus of his riches, but also used vnlawfull companie with his owne especiall courtisans, by whome he had both sonnes and daughters. Perennius had sonnes growne to mans estate, whiche were in the armies: and when any notable deede was done in the warres, he woulde repute at the Emperours table, that it was performed and achieved by his sonnes: in such wise, that frō them & were in peace he bereft their goods, and them that died in warrs he spoiled of their honour. In fiftte yeare of Commodus reigne, the Senate sent an huge armie against the Brittaines, whercof Perennius was admitted both Consul and capteine: in whiche iourney he was not satisfied, to be serued as one in fauour, and obeyed as Consul: but woulde be reuerenced as a prince, and adoized as a God.

Perennius

Perennius prospering in his martiall affaires, and holding the whole common wealth in his owne handes, and possessing wealth aboue all reckoning, he then immagined to want nothing but the attainement of the Romaine empire: for the accomplishment whereof, he thoroughly determined to kill his Lorde and maister Commodus, placing his sonnes Pretors ouer all the armies, to be ready at hande in time vppon the newes of the death of the Emperour Commodus. Perennius also had drauue vnto his parcialitie certeine Senatoures, and other the welthiest neighbours and citizens of Rome by giftes and rewarde in secret, but in especiall by aggrauating the wicked life of Commodus. On the fourth day of May, the Romaines did celebrate the greate feast of Iupiter Capitoline, whereunto not onely the whole people of Rome, but also of all cities of Italie did concur: and when the Emperour on that day was resident in Rome, alwayes in his owne person went to authorize and see the feast. The Emperour Commodus beholding the playes and pageants prouided for that triumph, and Crispina his wife being placed on the one hande, and Perennius the private and greatly fauoured courtier, set on the other hande: they behelde a carte comming al couered with boughes, crying continually for rowme and audience. And when they were come vnto the presence of the Emperour Commodus and all persons by his commaundement vsing silence, the people thinking they would haue vttered some pageant or matter of dispozte: soudainly there appeared a man aloft vppon the carte, which had a long bearde, a shepheardes hooke in one hande, and a sling in the other: and from the girdle vppwarde all naked, his other garments very poore, and after the manner of a Philosopher, and directing his wordes vnto Commodus, saide:

The Oration to Commodus

O Commodus, it well seemeth that thou arte a
M.i. Prince,

Prince, and that verie young, whiche arte in these playes and delightes so carelesse and negligent, which thou oughtest not to doe, because Princes of thy age, estate, and condition, runne muche more in perill, in their excessiue pleasures, then in their meane trauailes. Being (as thou arte) rigorous with thine owne, and furious and vnbridled with straungers, thou oughtest to consider, and not to be vnmindfull, that thou hast enimies: for the Prince that is feared of manie, hath iust cause also to feare manie. The greatest riches, and the best treasure in this world, is trueth, whereof Princes be moſte poore of all people: for that their eares being fild and led away with lyes, may take no taste in matters of trueth. Thou Commodus and other Princes, do not euil gouerne your common wealthes of any prepenched malice to destroye the same: but because ye giue not, either delight your selues to heare the poore that be grieved and oppressed, when they complaine, neither the good, godly, and vertuous, when they giue aduise-ment, of the greates and horrible vices of briberie, extortion, and violent robberies, committed by officers, by the priuate and fauoured, by the mightie and men of power. Great is the fault of Princes, for the vices which they committ, but much greater is their offence in dissembling the offences of their fauoured seruants, because ye offend not, but onely the Gods, but they both offende the Gods, vexe and trouble men, & are traitours to your own persons. Although Commodus, thou be licentious, dissolute, wilfull, & also not very honest: it is impossible, but if the hurtes and mischiefes, scandals, and robberies, committed by thy officers & fauoured seruants, were notified & giuen

giuen thee to vnderstand, thou wouldest committund them to be ameded, & also to be remedied: for in the ende there is no Prince so euill, that desireth not his common wealth to flourish. At these dayes, trueth in Princes houses is so odious, that who so aduentureth but to make reporte therof, of death he must haue determination: and if any such do escape with life, it proceedeth of some conceite to be spoken of madnesse. That, which at this present I will say & discover, I protest vnto the immortal Gods, it proceedeth not of madnesse, for that my natural iudgement is confirmed with reason: either do I say it of malice, to be reuenged of any person: but onely (Oh Commodus) to deliuer thy life of great peril, and to franchise Rome from seruitude of a tyrant: for that which I presume to saye, and aduenture to discover, I am assured before my tale be ended, my life shalbe taken away. But (O Commodus) I giue thee to vnderstande, that if thou wilt not giue faith vnto my woordes, the time will come, when thou shalt vnderstand the trueth, of all that I haue saide, when thy mischiefe may haue no remedie. Thou (Commodus) art there set & placed, with the Empreſse Crispina on thy right hand, & on thy left hand thy priuate & fauoured Perennius, but hadst thou certeine intelligēce, what he hath ordeined against thee, with thine owne hands y wouldest burie him quick. Perennius hath not been satisfied, to put to death all good men; to be reuenged of his enimies, to haue destroyed all thy seruants, to haue robbed all thy treasures: but that nowe he practiseth to take away thine owne life, to aduaunce and exalt him selfe to the whole power of this citie and common wealth.

O Commodus, if thou knowe not, I giue thee to vnderstand, y^e the sonnes of Perennius, by fraud haue incensed thy armies of Illyria agaist the. Perennius him selfe ceaseth not to corrupt the Senate, and secretly seeketh to winne the mindes of men, giuing giftes, and large rewardes vnto the people: and all to the ende that vpon the first newes of thy death, without contradi^{cti}oⁿ, he may possesse y^e whole estate of y^e Romane Empire. And think not, that Perennius doth now begin to attēpt this treason, for y^e of great certētie I do assure thee, that many dayes past he hath put the same in practise, & is vpon the point, at this instant, to haue it to be executed: in so much that if on this day I had not aduentured to giue thee warning, be thou assured, that on this present day before this feast had bene finished, thy life had here bene ended.

Until that poore man had saide, that on that day Commodus death was prepared, not onely the people gaue eare, but also Perennius: whose presently rose out of his chayre with greate furie, commaunding the sword players to kill that presumptuous and rashe dizarde, who was presently slaine, & awayne, cut in peeces and burnt. Perennius of all men so deadly hated, by this poore mannes tale, sunke into suspicion of the people, and also Commodus conceived agaist him some scruple: but that Philosopher being there slaine, and Perennius in so greate power, although they had all suspicion of his treason, yet no man there durst speake a worde. The matter remaining certētie dayes moze suspicious then cleare: there came gentlemen from Illyria, and brought certain peeces of golde, wherein bothe the name & also the Image of Perennius, was ingrauen: whiche money Perennius commaunded his sonnes in greate secrette to be made.

The coyners thereof being aduertised what the Philosopher had saide, and being in greate doubt in proce^{ss}e of time to be discouered, came vnto Commodus and manifested the whole matter, which were not onely pardoned, but also largely rewarded. The treason being detected, which the traitour and tyzant Perennius had devised, it seemed good vnto the friendes of Commodus, and the enimies of Perennius, to the ende to deliuer him from all suspicion, first and immediately to cut off his head: for that Perennius being guilefull, and in great power, might haue preuented his owne execution with the slaughter of others.

A great parte of the night being past, and Perennius repoling in his owne house, Commodus commaunded him to be called in great haste, aduertising him at the instant of letters out of Asia: who entring the Emperours chamber, founde not Commodus, but yet wanted not that presently cut off his head. At the instant that Perennius was put to death, a post with greate speede was sent into Illyria, by whome Commodus did write vnto the sonnes of Perennius, that all thinges set aparte, they should repaire to Rome to visite their father being sicke in his bedde: to the ende that if the destinies shoulde permit his death, to succede in his place. The sonnes of Perennius did well thinke that all had bene fruthe which was written vnto them, and nothing doubting the detection of their treason, presently departed towards Rome: but at their entrie of the first citie of Italie, they were made shorter by bothe their heades. This in conclusion was the ende of y^e tyzant Perennius, which lost his sonnes, his goods, his honour, and his life: not rather for any mischief, then for his presumption and pride. Of this example, let all Princes take warning, howe they magnifie their seruantes with too greate wealth and power: and this is saide, because potencie ingendreth enuie: and ouermuch riches doth breede and bring forth pride.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Of the tyrant Maternus, and of his treason against Commodus.

Exceeding joy did the Romaines receiue of the death of Perennius, and his sonnes, because his auarice and pride was moze sharpe and intollerable, then the folly of Commodus. The offices of Perennius were diuided amongst many: because it seemed, that so greate authoritie and power, to be placed and committed in one person, were to put his life in perill, and his Empire to commission. Incredible and innumerable were the riches, iewels, and money, that were confiscate by the death of Perennius and his sonnes: but they were so wilfully and wickedly diuided and spent, that whatsoever Perennius gathered by extortion and byberie, Commodus spent & imployed in vices. There was in those dayes in Italie a certeine man named Maternus, who from his childhood was bred in the armies of Illyria: of nature bolde and valiant, subtil, painefull, sharpe & quick, proude, seditious, and stammering, in such wise, that as he was filthie of his toung, so was he foudeine of his handes. In all debates, seditions, and mutinies which happened in the camps, or cities, this Maternus was euer founde one, either the chiefe authour thereof, or else to be noted above the rest, because they saye, this was his common speache, that on that daye, wherein he shed no bloude, wine had no good relishe. The captaines of the armies did partly beare with him for his valiantnesse, but on the other side, they might not endure his continuall quarrellings, and in the ende his lewdnesse being growen intollerable, they did not onely dispatche him from the warres, but also did banishe him the confines of Italie.

This Maternus being a ringleader of all wicked and desperate persons that were in the armies, many did accom-

panie and also followe him in that exile: not to remaine as bounde to leade a better life, but to haue libertie to committ muche euil. With those companions that Maternus had reconered from the armies, and with others that dayly ioyned with him, he obtained vnder his standarde twentie thousande footemen, and two thousand horsemen within the space of foure monethes: with which people Maternus committed so many robberies, burnings, and slaughters in the cities and territories of Italie, as if an Hanibal had bene raised from the dead to conquere Rome.

Italie being robbed and sacked, Maternus departed into Lombardie, and from thence into Fraunce, and after into Spaine: in which kingdomes, he continued in that courtesie which he vsed in Italie: and that which was mooste to be marueiled, was, that his armie daily increased, and no man attempted to resist him, in such wise, that with them which were present, he did yeld occasion to be busied, and with them that were absent, he ministred matter of communication. This tyrant Maternus and his people, helde no other trade but to rob temples, to sacke towne, to scowze the fieldes, to spoyle cozne, to burne houses, to force women, to defile virgins: and that which was worst, that not contented for them selues to liue at libertie, they brake prisons, and set at large all malefactours.

It is amongst euils the supreme euil, and in tyrantes the greatest tyrannie, that they of them selues will not liue according to reason and iustice, but that also they wil not consent that malefactours be committed to iustice. Maternus and his armie remaining in Spaine, Commodus wrote vnto all the Pretors of those countries, to raise an armie of great power, to destroy the tyrant Maternus, and to make greate promises by publique proclamations, that vnto him which should cutt off the heade, or take the bodie or person of Maternus, shoulde haue in rewarde all his goodes, and his picture aduanced and

¶.iiii.

set

set vp in Rome.

The first proclamations were published in Saragosa, at which time Maternus was resident in Taragon, who being aduertised that they of Spaine prepared an armie against him, and that amongst the captaines great wagers were laide, who shoulde first ridde him of his life: he determined to returne into Italic with determination to kill Commodus in Rome. Where vpon Maternus moste secretly conferred, with his chief and special friends & arrantest theues and most doughtie personages, to forsake the armie: seuerally diuidinge them selues, by sundrye wayes vpon one certaine and appointed day without faile to make their meeting in Rome. Presently after Maternus was gonne out of sight, al y remnant of his army was dismaide and fel in pices, wherof there were infinite taken, strangled, drowned, drowne & haged: in such wise, that in so great a number of theues, none had better aduenture, then to be slaine or put to death, except he had friendly fauour of fortune to be made a bondman. Maternus & his companions, the day, houre, & place, on which they had agreed in Spaine, ioyntly did encounter at Rome: whiche for a time wente dispersed & disguised by day, but ioyned by night to commit their thestes: being furnished for their prouision, but onely with suche prouision as they might pick by day, and steale by night, wherein they vsed so greate shifts, guile, and skill, that although they accompaied but by couples, yet, if the warde or watche by daye or night did attempt to arrest or offende any one, at an instant they were all ready for his defence: in such wise, that although they wer of great disorder in their life: yet they vsed great conformitie in agreement for the manner and fashion of their robberies.

One of the thinges wherein the malice of man moste readily doeth shewe it selfe is, that to doe euill, wee are soone agreed: but to perfourme a good worke, wee consent with greate difficultie.

Commodus was well persuaded, that the tyrant Matern

Maternus was nowe deade, imagining in his owne conceit, that at the forsaking of his campe, and renouncing of his armie, of extreme desperation and horrour of him selfe, he had desperately drowned or committed him selfe to the halter. But Maternus in recompence of the losse of his potencie, and negligence of his honour, bent all his studie to deliuer Commodus from his life. The Romaines helde a custome vpon the tenth day of Marche, to celebrate the feast of the Goddesse Berecynthia: on that day the Emperour and the Senate went vnto her temple, to offer sacrifices, which done and perfourmed, generally all persons for the most part disguised them selues, masking and feasting throughout the whole citie: in suche manner, their faces being couered, the one was vnknowne vnto the other. Maternus and other his fellowe theues and friendes, had agreed to weare secreete armour, with face disguised, that when the Emperour Commodus should most chiefly be addicted to viewe and beholde the playes, and his garde most carelesse of his person: by a counterfet braule amongst them selues, to finde ready meane to cut off his life. But notwithstanding Maternus had lost his welth, power, and honour, he ceased not to continue proude, hautie, and disdainfull: seeking to be serued and reuerenced, not as a friende and poore companion, but after the manner of a Prince, and as one that were very rich. Wherevpon certaine of his companions, being not onely weeryed, but tyred, to walke lurkingly in corners, and not able to indure to be handled with so great seruitude: and further, fearing some day to be discovered, they repayed vnto Commodus, and with great secrecie manifesting the whole matter, which is to wit, that Maternus the tyrant was aliue, and fully determined in those playes and feastes to kill him. Incredible was the feare wherewith Commodus was touched, when he hearde that Maternus the tyrant was aliue: and no lesse was his ioy, to consider the conspiracie to be detected: and notwithstanding Commodus had intelligence thereof certaine dayes before the

“ feast, hee suspended the execution thereof untill the day of
 “ the Goddesse Berecynthia: so the end that nothing should be
 “ revealed vnto Maternus, of that which was discovered
 “ vnto Commodus. The manner that Maternus deuised to
 “ murder Commodus, the same did Commodus vse to take
 “ and kill Maternus, that is to say: the great day of the feast
 “ being come, as Maternus and his band came masked and
 “ armed: so Commodus brought forth his men armed and
 “ disguised: and with a set quarell the traitour and tyrant
 “ Maternus was slaine, and his men cutt all to peeces. The
 “ greatest feast of that feast was celebrate, in stragling, be-
 “ wing, mangling, drawing & burning of the bodies of these
 “ miserable theues: because it is an euident lawe for ty-
 “ rants, that the hurtes, robberies, slaughters, violences, and
 “ burninges, which they haue committed in many dayes,
 “ they come to make repayment thereof in one houre,

CHAP. X.

¶ Of the inexpected death of Cleander,
 a fauoured and most priuate ser-
 uant vnto Commodus.

After the death of the tyrant Maternus, the Emperour
 Commodus passed his life in great doubt and feare, im-
 agining with himselfe, that some day they would dis-
 patch him, either eating or sleeping: for he did both knowe,
 and also would say, that they were fewe which prayed for
 his life, but very many that sighed for his death. Untill
 Commodus died hee euer walked warely: for hee doubled
 his guard, to guard him by day, and strongly shutt in his
 house by night: in that which hee did eate, in his lodging
 where he slept, on the palfrey wheron he roade, on the gar-
 ments which hee did weare, hee set great watche: in such
 wise, that hee paid it but only with his life that durst touch
 his garment.

Very selldome he went to the Senate, and much lesse
 did

did ride openly in the citie: hee had no talke with strangers
 but by writing: with his subjects he had no conference, but
 by a person intermitted: and that which was more mar-
 uell, hee had many times such conceits, not onely to refuse
 to write, answere, heare causes, or dispatch affaires: but
 also in foure or five dayes would not speake onely one
 word. In the xi. yeare of his Emperre, Maternus the ty-
 rant was slaine: on the next yeare there followed a great
 pestilence, and a generall hunger, in which hunger and pe-
 stilence, the third part of Italie was consumed. Immedi-
 atly after the pestilence had entred Rome, Commodus de-
 parted vnto y^e citie of Laurento, where were planted ma-
 ny Laurel trees, for which cause the citie was named Lau-
 rento: where also the Emperour moze remayned, then in
 any other place: the Physicians giuing him to vnderstand,
 that to be vnder the shadowe therof, was very proper and
 conuenient for defence of the pestilence. notwithstanding
 the scarcitie of bread and wine that was that yeare, fur-
 ther, a certaine occasion of great hunger happened in Rome,
 which was as followeth. When the god Marcus Aure-
 lius triumphed ouer the Argonautes, he brought amongst
 other captiues a younge man named Cleander: who was
 openly solde in the market place in Rome, and by chaunce
 bought by a clatke of the kitchen, to sweepe & make cleane
 the larder at court. This slaue Cleander became so hand-
 some in sweeping, seruing, and pleasing his maister, that
 not many yeares after, he did not onely make him free, and
 marrie him with his daughter, but also did aduance him to
 the office of Clarke of the kitchen: in such maner, that from
 the estate of a bondman, hee liued him with the confor-
 mation of a sonne. Soe when Cleander saue himselfe free,
 married, and in office in the Court, he trauelled to obtaine
 the good will of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, which he
 obtayned by carefulnesse in seruice, and diligence in his
 office: and vsed therin so great diligence and promptnesse,
 that he was neuer noted, either slacke in position, or faine
 in reckoning.

Marcus

„ Marcus Aurelius being deade, Commodus forgoate not
 „ to remoue Cleander from the affayres of the kitchen, and
 „ made him capitaine of his guard, and Lord great Cham-
 „ berlaine of his chamber. Vnto none of as many as did
 „ serue & accompany Commodus in his youth that hee was
 „ gratefull, but vnto Cleander; vnto whom it had bin much
 „ better, neuer to haue risen to so great honour: for thereof
 „ onely proceeded the losse of his life. Although the fauour
 „ of Cleander did rise in iest of small causes, he framed in
 „ fewe dayes to performe the same in earnest, which was as
 „ followeth: that as Commodus grew into disgrace, & was
 „ abhored and had no care of the gouernement of the Em-
 „ pire, Cleander did presse and in such maner did thronge to
 „ entermidle with affayres, that for the moze part all mat-
 „ ters were dispatched at his will and pleasure: in such wise,
 „ that Commodus gaue or firmed nothinge, if Cleander
 „ did not signe or allowe the same. Commodus had neuer
 „ any priuate or fauoured seruaunt, that in all points could
 „ so winne his will as Cleander: who affirmed to wishe no-
 „ thing, that Commodus wished not, either to allowe any
 „ thing, that hee said not: but aduouched also that he did not
 „ thinke or dreame, but that which Commodus did dreame
 „ and thinke: and with these and suche like lyes and flat-
 „ teries, hee wan the hart of Commodus, and obeyned ser-
 „ uice of the whole Empire. After Cleander beheld him-
 „ selfe the onely priuate and fauoured seruaunt of Com-
 „ modus, hee easily made himselfe rich: obeyning the custo-
 „ die, not onely of the whole common treasure, but also the
 „ keeping of all the monie and iewels of the Emperour Co-
 „ modus: and further in giuing offices, and receiuing pre-
 „ sentes, his sinceritie exceeded not. But Cleander finding
 „ himselfe in so great magnificence, began not greatly to re-
 „ garde so great fauour, or much lesse the obeyning of so
 „ great wealth: conceyuing in the end, that Commodus did
 „ vse him as a vassall, and that hee must accompt him as his
 „ Lord: to cut off which opprobrie, and to giue contentation
 „ vnto his heart, he determined to kill Commodus, and for
 „ him

„ himselfe to vsurpe the Empire. Cleander did build at the
 „ port Salaria, most costly and delectable bathes, and comaun-
 „ ded proclamation to be made in Rome, to notifie vnto all
 „ men, that would bathe therein, to be discharged of all cost,
 „ and freely to vse the same: and also added therunto great
 „ pastimes, and preparations vnto all kinde of vices: in such
 „ wise, that there they cleansed their bodies, & defiled their
 „ soules. Many times Cleander did inuite the Senate, and
 „ sent them particular presents home to their houses: The
 „ Pretors, Censores, Quæstors, Tribunes, Præfets, and
 „ other Romane officers, he caused their dueties to be paid:
 „ and all the men of warre he did not onely pay them, but al-
 „ so did trauele to hold them contented: in such maner, that
 „ some with vitious delights and pleasures, and some by re-
 „ wards, giftes, and monie, in a maner he recovered all men
 „ for his friends. In the yeare of great hunger and pesti-
 „ lence in Italie, Cleander bought all the wheat in the coun-
 „ tries adioyning vnto Rome: wherein his intent was, not
 „ to gaine or make a profite thereof, but to bring Rome into
 „ a necessitie, to y end that all men should come to his house
 „ for wheate: and therein to haue vsed so great liberalitie, in
 „ selling good cheape, and giuing plentifully, in a yeare so
 „ deare, that after the death of the Emperour Commodus,
 „ they should not mislike to giue him the Empire. And as
 „ hunger increased cruelly, a great part of the yeare beeing
 „ as yet to come, and the people not knowing Cleanders in-
 „ tent, who bid neither giue or sell any wheate: soudainly al-
 „ Rome did rise, exclaiming death and treason against Clean-
 „ der, as an vsurper of the goodes of the common wealth.
 „ Cleander being a man valiaunt, of great power, and Cap-
 „ taine of the guard, comaunded all the men of his captaine-
 „ ship, to be armed: who did place themselues in the com-
 „ passe of his house, for the garde of his person, and to resiste
 „ that ciuil furie: although it be most true, that hee rather
 „ defended the sacking of his house, then of feare to defende
 „ his life. The souldiers on the one side, and Cleander on
 „ the other part, trauesed amongst themselues so long and
 „ perilous

perillous a contention : that it seemed no other matter, but that Silla and Marius were once moze fallen into fight, for the seignorie of Rome. And as Cleanders partie was defended with men both armed and determined, in the first onset they executed so great slaughter amongst the people, that scarcely a streete was to be founde in Rome, that was not bathed with bloud : either any place great or little, that was not filled with dead bodies. The souldiers perceyuing the slaughter and hauocke which the men of warre so cruelly did perforce amongst them, retired euery man into his house: and fortifying their doores, they fought from their windowes and house toppes, and from thence threw and whirled out stones, tiles, spitts, potts, and caldrons: and in that so common banger, no lesse did women fight then men : & Cleanders partie so hardly handled, that scarcely remained a hundred y were not slaine or wounded. Whilst these daeds were doing at Rome, Commodus was recreating himselfe in an house which he had in an orchard, and Cleander being of great power, of some feare, and of others beloued, no man durst make report thereof vnto Commodus, because so strong was the friendship betwixt them, that they feared the displeasure of the one, and the unkindnes of them both. There was in the Courte a sister vnto Commodus named Fadilla : whose eyes being charged with teares, and tearing her haire from her head, as one in gret distresse, said vnto her brother Commodus. Most serene prince, and right deare brother, if thou wert aduertised of the condition and estate of Rome, thou wouldest not be so carelesse solacing in this garden : because I giue thee to vnderstand, that the yeome of thy guard in the fauour of Cleander, and al the other people of the common wealth, haue trauerfed amongst themselves so cruell a fight, that if presētly at this instant thou prouide not some remedie, this day wil be the end of the Romane people. The exceeding honour, the great riches, & to to much fauour which thou hast employed vpon Cleander, hath raised him into exceeding great pride, wherof although he be in the fault,

yet

yet the occasion hath beene giuen by thee: for as thou makest Lordes of bondmen, it is most certaine that they will make slaues of Lords & noble men. The people be so furious against Cleander, & Cleander and his men so flesht against the people, that thou hast to chuse one of two thinges : which is to witt, to yeld Cleander vnto the common people, or els to abide what fortune of them and vs shalbe proued: for as the case standeth now im poisoned, it is impossible, that ioyntly thy life and his person this day may be preserued. These words being spoken by the infant Fadilla, all men present recovered new boldnes, persuading Commodus to remoue Cleander from amongst them, and so to appease the whole people of Rome : and to hold the ease of the common wealth moze deare, then the friendship or life of Cleander. Commodus hearing these matters, & dismayed with feare, forthwith commaunded Cleander to come vnto his presence : and at the instante of his appearance, commaunded his head to be cut off, which being set vpon a lance, and carried about Rome, immediately the whole multitude was pacified. Cleander being put to death, his childzen, seruantes, & friends, were executed, whose bodies after they were drawen by boyes thorough out Rome, were thrown into sinkes and places of vile ordure. This was the conclusion and end of Cleander, and the end of his childzen, his house, goods, and honour : who though for many things, ought to be reprehended, yet one ly for one thing he deserueth praise, namely, that he had rather die a gentleman, then liue a slaue.

CHAP. XI.

The report of a fire which descended from heauen, and burnt in Rome the temple of peace.

Of the most notable examples, wherin fortune hath discovered the inconstancie of her wheele, was in the discourse

discourse that she had & used wyth Cleander and his house: whose in short space, of a slaue made a freeman, of a freeman a Steward, of a Steward a Pretour, of a Pretour a Chamberlaine, & of a Chamberlaine, in effect a Monarche of the world: and afterwards in one day, and in one houre, was utterly destroyed: whereby wee haue to learne, that While wee liue in this life, with suretie wee possesse nothing. Hee ought not to be dismaide, that from an high estate, is descended vnto a poore degree: neither ought he to glorie or grow proud, that from a base estate, is aduanced to honour: for ther is none in so wretched condition, that hopeth not to growe better: either is there any so set a loft, that needeth not to doubt to catch a fall.

The present day that Cleander was put to death, Commodus repaired vnto his imperial Palace, & neuer moze returned vnto his garden, neither to dwell, either as much as to solace: and if in times past hee had bin cruell, from thence forth hee was much moze cruell, and also suspicious: for hee conceived that popular sedition proceeded not, to take vengeance of Cleander, but for deuice to dispatch him of his life. His friends, his kinsfolks, his counsellors, his seruants, his natural subiects, and also strangers, hee held them all his vtter enemies: because he doubted that all manner of men, that came to speake with him, came to deceiue him: and such as repaired to visite him, that by treason they would kill him. In the xij. yeare of his Empire on the xviij. day of March, at none the heauen was scene full of starres, as if it had bene midnight: and that which was most meruell, and neuer read in booke, or seen with eyes, that on the evening when the Sunne naturally was accustomed to be scene to sett in the Weste, they beheld rising in the East. In the moneth of July next following, a Comet appeared in heauen, as large as a great beame, and so flamed with fire, directing his sparkles vnto the citie of Rome. On the xx. day of the moneth of August, suddenly the heauens being cleare, neither raynie or cloudie, in Rome there strake an horrible clap of thunder,

thunder: and after the thunder, there came a globe of fire, which burned the temple, named the temple of peace. This temple in authoritie was most auncient, in buildinges most stately, in riches most wealthie, with priettes most published, and in deuotion most esteemed: because in all other Churches, the Romanes might pray vnto their Gods sitting or standing: but there were forced to pray on their knees. All men which had monie, treasure, iewels, or rich stuffe, layd it all vp in the temple of peace: not enely thinking them most safe, by the stronge building of the Church, but also of deuotion to commend and offer their goodes vnto the God of peace, to obtaine permission to enioy quietnes. The losse which the Romanes receiued, by those flames of fire, did excede all reckoning: for in a maner all rich men had there their riches burnt & consumed: in such wise, that no heart might endure, either yet dissemble, to heare the cries of men, and the exclamation of women: euery man recounting his losse vnto his neighbour, & ioyntly bewayling the burning of the temple. Now when the temple of peace was burnt, visibly they did see it passe, vnto the temple of the vestall virgins: which wholly it consumed, leauing no signe of any building thereof. And yet notwithstanding, better order was taken for the remedie thereof, then in the other temple: for presently vppon the kindling of the fire, they tooke out the vestall virgins, which there were inclosed, and the reliques which the Romanes had there reposed. And for as much as wee haue said of reliques, it is to vnderstand, that the Romanes had in that temple the Palladium: that is to say, the image of the goddess Pallas, which fell from heauen vpon the walls of Troy, and from thence was brought to Rome: which was holden in as great veneration, as the arke of the Lord amonges the Israelites. The Romanes held that Image of the Goddess Pallas, so shut vp, inclosed and hidden: that long time after shee was brought from Troy, of moztall man being neuer scene: either of Consul, Emperour, or priest: for they had a prophetic, that in the yeare, in which

that

that Image should be scene, there should be great change in the prosperitie of Rome.

The Romanes remoued their bestall virgins, and the Image of their Goddess Pallas, vnto the house of Commodus: and so great was the lamentation amongst the Romanes, to beheld their bestall virgins set at large, and their Palladium discovered, that without comparison they did much more bewaile the burning of their temple of reliques, then the other temple that conteyned all their riches. After this globe of fire had burned the temple of Peace, and the temple of Reliques, it burned also many other sumptuous buildings: not burning alongest after the manner of other fire, but amongst many houses burnt one, and farre off from thence would burne another: whereof the Romanes did gather, that it was not the fire in vse amongst men, seruing onely to burne: but a fire sent from the Gods, to consume and chastice. These terrible fireinges, and prodigious spectacles, of the Romanes being considered, if vntil that time they did wishe the Emperour euill, from thenceforth they could neither endure to behold him, either abide with patience to heare his name: for they held it for certeintie, that all those euill signes wherewith the Gods did threaten the Common wealth, were all sent for his soule and filthie life. This globe of fire continued by the space of a xi. dayes: in all which time it ceased not to burne temples and houses. On the xij. day Commodus rode out of the citie, and at the instante that he went out at the gates, soudainely the fire ceased: which confirmed the Romanes in their opinion, namely that during the life of Commodus, the Romane people of the gods should alwayes be scourged.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of many cruelties, and not a few fantastical practises of Commodus.

As it hath bene said, Commodus continued certaine dayes very sad and pensive, when he considered how traytors sought occasion to take away his life, and the terrible flames and burnings of Rome: but in short time after, hee both forgot the chastisement of the Gods, and conspiracies of men: and this manifestly appeared, for that he so stoutly returned to all his vices, as if he had neuer bene vitious. Cleander being dead, hee made Niger Prefect, and after sixe houres hee did reuoke his power, and commaunded him to be banished: and prouided also Galba Rufus for his Chamberlaine, whom after foure houres he discharged of his office, and sent him in exile: and when Niger & Rufus complained of their griefes, Commodus answered, hee did not banishe them for that which they had done, but for that which they might doe. He created Prefect Marcus Dulus, a man (most certaine) right generous and auncient: whome after three dayes hee remoued from his office, and commaunded him vntill his death, in his house to be prisoner, the occasion whereof was, for that (as hee affirmed) Marcus was very old and spent, and therefore it were no reason he should be troubled of any person: and also, that if any man should request any thing, hee mighte answer him, that hee was a prisoner, and might not go out of his dores to doe him pleasure. He gaue the Senate to vnderstand, that hee would go into Africa, and had necessitie, for his naule by sea, & his army by land, of a great summe of monie: although the Senate did suspect it but a collusion, they durst not but open the treasure, and diuide with him the treasure: for otherwise, he would both make haue of their liues and treasure.

In April the Senate gaue forth their monie, and when

Commodus was in possession thereof, he bzuted his departing vnto Campania, to take men of warre: where he remained ail that Summer, and also parte of the next winter, eating, drinking, fishing, hunting, playing, wzastring, running, leaping, dauncing, swimming, and such other vanities. All the Senate was much ashamed, and all the Romanes not a litle touched, after they vnderstood the monie which was giuen out for the warres of Africa, to be so vitionally consumed by Commodus in Campania. After his returne to Rome, Commodus was aduertised, that Motilenus Prefect for that yeare, had murmured moze at him, then any other person: and for very grieffe and despight did weepe, to see their monie prouided for the warres, spent in so wicked vses: Commodus confected certaine figgs, and invited Motilenus to dinner, who being fed with figs died the third day following. One day he clad himself as a priest, right pontifically, and placed himself aloft on a coche of 4. furious horses: the Romanes supposing he would offer sacrifices at the temple, he mounted certeine rockie cliftes & mountaines: and there against all reason ran his chariot, where his horses happened to be all to toyne, & his chariot rent all to peeces, and hee bzake his head, and wrenched his foote: finally he made a narrow misse, in repayment of his follie, that day to haue lost his life. On a day he went to the Senate, and said that hee would not haue Rome named Rome, but Cōmodiana: and the Senate answered, they were both pleased to call Rome Cōmodiana, and the Senate Cōmodiano. That which the Senators supposed to be demaunded in iest, also consenting in iest, Commodus did accept in earnest: & from thenceforth, the letters which were wzitten, the prouisions which were made, & the seals therto ioyned, in al such instruments Rome was intituled Cōmodiana, & the Senate Cōmodiano: and if by negligēce any man happened to be obliuious therof, & to vse the name of Rome, presently he was banished from thence, to seeke Rome: for that was not, but Cōmodiana. The priests of the Goddesse Isis were commanded to come into his presence, and

and said vnto them, that shee had revealed vnto him, that their heads should be shauen, and that hee was commaunded as high priest to perfozme the same: and with a bluntnesse hee cutt their nailes, and blunting his knife vpon stones, would drie shauē their heades: in such wyse, that as their haire was drie, and his knife blunt, it might moze truly be said, that hee did rather slay them, then trimme or dresse them. Such as garded the temple of the Goddesse Bellona, hee caused their right armes to be thrust out of ioynte: alledging, that since they painted the Goddesse with a broken arme, her priestes ought not to haue their armes whole and sound. The Romanes painted their Goddesse Isis with naked bzestes: and Commodus on a day visiting that temple, and beholding the image of Isis, painted with bzestes discovered: hee caused the bzestes of the priests to be scrat with combs of yron in his presence, affirming that it were vniuste for their Goddesse to haue naked bzestes, and they to hold their entrailes hidden.

Commodus commaunded all men to call him Hercules, which, to the end hee would resemble, hee made a coate of Lions skinnes, and toke in hand an huge clubb, wherewith hee wente day and night killing men, breaking doores, and ouerthrowing pillers, with such other vanities: in so much, that a fierce cruell Lion would not haue done so great hurtes, as Commodus committed as a Lion, but counterfect. With many other vaine and wicked deedes vnto this to be wzitten.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ A discourse of the prouinces that rebelled in his reigne, and the prodigies of his death.

There rebelled against the Romane Empire, in the reigne of Commodus, the Mauritanes, the Datians, the Sarmatians, and the Germanes, all which were onely
p. 197. *ouer*

come by the Romane capiteines : for that Commodus did rather imploy his valiauntnesse in vices, then in resisting enemies. Hee was not onely in his woozdes and woozkes, vaine and friuolous, but also in his letters which hee wrote for the Empire : for that many times being aduertised from countries and prouinces, of causes of great importance, he would answer them with matters of vanitie: and sometimes would sende an whole sheete of paper sealed and firm'd, coneyning onely one Latine word; that is to say, Vale. Notwithstanding the dayes of his reigne were the most unfortunate dayes, yet would hee needs commaund them to be termed the golden world. Most heynous offences hee would pardon for monie: if any person being absent were condemned to die, hee would finde out some other of his age and name, to be executed for his offence: affirming that since he did resemble him in age and name, hee should not varie in the maner of his death: in such wise, that this tyrant did kill innocents for the wicked, and let offenders escape for monie. If any man had an enemy of whom he would take vengeance, hee needed no other meane to performe the same, but to bargain with Commodus for a summe of monie, which being agreed, he neuer waisted occasion to rid him of his life. At all the vile and filthy deeds which Commodus committed, he was not grieved, but delighted in the publication thereof: in so much that he was not onely euill, but also boasted himselfe to be euill: for that he entred so great follie or madnes, that all thinges which hee either did, or said, whether allowed or misliked of himselfe or all other men, expressely hee commaunded them to be written, in the registre Capitoline. On a certaine time he determined to burne the whole citie of Rome: and being prest to giue fire to many parts, Letus a Consul came vnto him, and said vnto him so many thinges, and put him in so great feare of the hazard of his life, that he ceased that day to execute so desperate a deed: and being demaunded, why hee would burne his mother Rome, answered: that he would not burne Rome, but his Commodian Colonell: because

because at that time it was named Rome. These prodigies following did preceede his death. There came out of his house, certaine little birds, of the fashion and colour of turkies: which were neuer seene either in Rome, or in any the confines of Italie, and remained iij. dayes vpon his house, neither flying or remouing to any other house: and their note and songe which they vsed, did rather giue motion of weeping, then of mirth. Soudainly the ports of Ianus did open, the copper Image of the god Mercurie was seene to sweat, the Image of Hercules without approach of any person was seene to moue, and vpon his chamber where hee slept the skizich owle nightly ceased not to houle. Commodus considering these causes, departed to remaine at mount Celius: affirming that he was feared by night, & might not sleepe. On the next day, being demaunded for the celebration of certaine feastes & games, which were to be done before the gates of his Palace, what garmentes his guard should weare, hee answered and commaunded them to be clad with hooded capes for the raine, a garment much vsed in Rome for mourners: in such wise that on the other day hee was in such maner accompanied, that it seemed rather they wente to honour his obsequies, then to celebrate or magnifie his feastes.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ Howe Commodus was slaine by the deuice and counsel of his Courtiane Martia,

The time approaching, wherein the follies and wickednesses of the Emperour Commodus should finish, and the sorrowfull Rome obtaine libertie from the seruitude of so cruell a tyrant: the occasion both of the one and the other was after this maner,

P. iij.

The

" The first day of the moneth of January, the Romanes did
 " celebrate the feast of the God Ianus: on which day Com-
 " modus determined to shewe himselfe in the habite, not of
 " an Emperour, but of a sword player: whereof Martia his
 " concubine being aduertised, with great instance did humbly
 " pray him, and with many teares no lesse request and beseech
 " him, that it might please him to take some other order,
 " both to annoyde the perill that might happen vnto his
 " person, as also the blemishe vnto his authoritie. This
 " Martia was so loued and so tenderly cherished and honou-
 " red of the Emperour Commodus, that notwithstanding
 " shee did serue him as a concubine, yet hee brought to passe
 " that all men did serue her as Emperesse. To restraine Co-
 " modus from that feast in the shewe and forme of a sword-
 " player, neither were the abundant teares powred forth of
 " Martia sufficient, either her humble sute so instantly re-
 " quested, either the feare and hazard of his person so flatly
 " informed, either the amorous intisements so exactly per-
 " formed, remoued his purpose: the which Martia considering,
 " forgot not to request others to be assistant in that sute: for
 " as afterwarde shee reported, her heart did giue her, that
 " Commodus that day should passe great perill. At that
 " time Letus was his Chamberlaine, and Electus Capiteine
 " of his guard, whome were priuate and in great fauour with
 " the Emperour Commodus, & friends vnto Martia: these
 " both shee requested to be humble furtherers in her former
 " sute. But Commodus was so obstinate, and determined
 " to celebrate that feast of Ianus, in forme of a fencer: that he
 " was not onely vnwilling to heare them, but also grew to
 " be offended with them. On the eues eue of the great feast
 " of the God Ianus, Commodus commaunded the Capiteines
 " of the sword players, to prepare him the armes & ensignes
 " of a sword player: for that hee would celebrate those feasts
 " not as an Emperour, but as a sword player. This done
 " and provided, Commodus commaunded Letus and Electus
 " to depart to their lodging, to the end he might repose: and
 " seeing himselfe alone in his chamber inclosed with doores
 " shut,

" but, he tooke paper and incke, and did write with his
 " owne handes, the names of all such persons which he de-
 " termined on the next day should be slaine with the sword
 " players: for his meaning was not principally to adorne
 " those feastes and to honour them, but to dispatch manye
 " men of their liues. This memorial being made, of all such
 " persons as the next day shoulde be slaine: partely of ex-
 " cesse, and partely of wearinesse in writinge, he was fa-
 " ken with deade sleape: laying his memoriall vnder his
 " pillowe, not doubting that any person should encounter
 " therewith. Commodus had in his chamber a little boye
 " sufficiently faire, named Pugiis, whome he did loue and
 " fauour above all the rest, not for his seruice, but for de-
 " light he had of him in bedde. As Pugiis was but childishe,
 " and in so greate fauour, comming and going alwayes
 " into Commodus chamber, fortune would, or to say better,
 " God so ordained, that he shoulde take that paper in hande
 " wherein were contained the names of all such as were ap-
 " pointed to the slaughter: and came forth vnto the lodging,
 " where Martia receiued him to play, according vnto the
 " custome vsed with children: and finding the paper in his
 " handes, suspecting it to be some writinge of importance,
 " tooke the childe into her armes, embracing, kissinge, and
 " dallying with the childe Pugiis, and giuing him another
 " iuell wherewith to play, tooke the paper into her hands,
 " without all suspicion to finde that, which therein was
 " contained. Martia coulde both write and reade, and vnder-
 " stood both Greeke, and spake the Latine tongue, and pre-
 " sently begane to reade the contents thereof, written by
 " Commodus his owne handes: wherein shee founde firste
 " her owne proper name, as appointed amongst the rest to
 " be slaine: the seconde was the chamberlaine Letus, the
 " thirde the captaine Electus, and so consequently the most
 " auncient, wealthy, & the most noble personages of Rome,
 " Martia being astonied and terrified to find what she found
 " in that libell, began to sobbe and weepe: and saying with
 " her selfe: what is this? may it be, that I am Martia that
 " p. b. reade

reade this writing, and shalbe executed to morrowe? Oh Commodus, ioy & take no care: for whereas thou hadst thought to haue done vengeance vppon thine enemies: this daye, they shal be reuenged of thee, in suche wise, as men shall praise it, and the Gods allowe it: that in thy rigorous chasticements, all tyrants shall obtaine and recouer both warning and example. If thou euer in all thy life, didest committ or perforce any good deede, it hath beene to place mee amongst suche persones as thou hast appointed to be slaine to morowe: for that shee deserueth wofte iustly to dye, that abandoneth her conuersation vnto so vile a person. Since the Gods haue so permitted, and my good fortune woulde, that this matter should be discovered, full contrarie to thy purpose, it shall haue successe; because thou thoughtest to haue slaine mee, and all other vertuous, noble, and most wealethie of the Empire: but the case shall be thus: that this daye thou shalt see the ende of thy wicked life, and wee all shall beholde our mother Rome set at libertie.

These and suche other wordes being spoken, shee sent for Letus and Eleus, to whome in greate secretie, shee shewed this writing: and when they considered, that on the next daye they shoulde all be slaine, they forgate not to determine to kill Commodus that night: but hardely might agree vppon the deuice and manner of his death.

It was the euen of the feast of Ianus, and also a greate parte of the daye alreadye past, and not as yet determined with what manner of death they shoulde finishe Commodus his life: for that, if they shoulde kill him on the souldaine, he might defende him selfe, and the case discovered: and if their affaires were deferred, on the next daye they were iudged to dye: but finally, they concluded to dispatche him with poison, offered by the hands of Martia. The manner was thus.

Martia perswaded Commodus that night to bathe him selfe, and coming from the bathe, Martia bare him

him in hande that he was pale and colourlesse, and prayed him to drinke and to eate a morsell, and in that same whiche shee gaue him in a colation to eate, in the same shee ministred poison for him to dye.

Not long after this surfeting dyet, his head began to ake: and being counsellled by Martia to take his bedde, shee provided to sende forth all persones that might seme either to hinder his rest, or her determined purpose. He had reposed little more then an houre, when the poison began to come to his heart, and taking occasion with his fingers to cast, Martia, Letus, & Eleus, doubting that by vomite he might throwe forth the poison, and so they by matter committed might iustly be put to death, beganne to feare and dismaye in their enterprise. But Martia more like a man then a woman, perceiving her complaintes to be daunted with feare, brought in Narcissus, a beardless and shamelesse young man, fleshed in murders: to whome shee promised a greate summe of money, who entering the chamber finished the murther. This was the ende of the brachast and filthie life of Commodus, whose

life and death may yealde vnto all Princes bothe example and terrour: for, notwithstanding

the wicked are forborne for a time,

yet Gods iustice doth not per-

mitte them to escape

vpunished,

(.)

The

The life of the Emperour Pertinax,
compiled by syr Anthonie of

Guevara, Bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, & counsellor vnto the Emperour Charles the fifth.

CHAP. I.

Of the linage and countrie of the Emperour Pertinax.



The emperour Publius Pertinax was borne in the prouince of Apenia in a certeine place named Martos, in the second yere of the Empire of Traiane: and his father was named Lincotinus, a man that liued by his owne proper sweate and trauaile. Pertinax being a stripling, serued his father with the carriage of wood vpon an asse, to be solde at the towne, who vsed to sell so deere, contentious, and pinching, that if they gaue him not his first demaunde, he did rather leaue his wood vsolde, then abate one blanke of his price. And being noted of all men, and but for a packeman, it proceeded thereof to be named Pertinax, that is to say, contentious: for that befoze time he was named Publius. Pertinax perceiuing that he was now called, not Publius, but Pertinax, contentious and packman, he parted from his countrie in a greate chafe, and shamed, giuing him selfe to write and read: whiche when he had learned, he trauelled to attaine the Greeke & Latine tounge, which also he obtained: in such wise, that he became moze handsome in science, then in selling of wood. Sothe when Pertinax perceiued him selfe to be instructed both in the Greeke and Latine tounge, he gaue him selfe vnto the warres, to learne the arte of warrefare,

fare, perceiuing that from his studie there proceeded much trauelle, and no profit: and that his life diminished, and his goods nothing increased. In those dayes the Romaines helde warres with the Assyrians, against whome the Consul Lolianus was capteine, where Pertinax being repaired, made couenant with a capteine of Rome to serue him for his prouision, in the condition of a cater: who vsing his seruice in that office verie faithfully, and in skirmishe and encounter with the enimie no lesse valiantly, his maister remoued from his saide office, and aduanced him to the state of a souldiour. Not long after that Pertinax had serued in the condition of a souldiour, but he was raised to an office of moze honour and credite, which in these dayes, is termed Sergeant of the bande, that is to wete, to giue order vnto the souldiours, to sette in arraye. Pertinax euery daye recovered fame in the warres, and his valiantnesse and noble minde was notorious vnto all men in the campe. It chaunced at the furious encounter of the enimie, the capteine of his bande to be slaine: whercof the Consul Lolianus commaunded him to take the charge, wherein he did so behaue him self, that not long after, he did not onely with blood, reuenge the blood of his capteine, but also brought to passe, to be loved of the Romaines, and feared of the enimies. The warres of Assyria being finished, Pertinax remained as pretor thereof, and as he was feared of the Assyrians in the time of warre: so was he afterwarde beloued in time of peace: for if in times past he had bene rigorous, as vnto enimies: so was he in processe without all comparison, moze pittifull vnto offenders. In the seconde yere of the Empire of good Marcus Aurelius, the king of Parthians rebelled against the Romanes, & amongst other Capteines that were called vnto that conquest, was Pertinax the Pretor of Assyria: in which warres, so straight and sound friendship was planted betwixt Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax, that from thenceforth they deale not as maister and seruant, but as father and sonne: because no mat-
ter

for, were it of moste greates importance whiche Marcus Aurelius commaunded, that Pertinax performed not, and exactly did not accomplishe: either any counsell ministered by Pertinax vnto Marcus Aurelius, vnto whiche he yealded not. In those Parthian warres, Pertinax proued so prouident in perils, so bought in hazarbes, so wise in counsell, so venturous in sallies, and so valiant in battaile, that by reporte of the enemies and iudgement of the armies, he onely deserved more glorie then all the rest. The warres of Asia being finished, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sente him as Prefor vnto the prouince of great Britaine, which now is called Englande.

Two yeares after he arriued into Britaine, warre was raised against the Germanes, vnto which warres Pertinax was also called, and there had the charge of the Eagle, which was to be bearer of the royall standarde, and was called the Eagle, because the Romanes had alwayes in that speciall standard an Eagle brauely painted.

Pertinax being resident in the warres of Germanie, his owne mother from Rome, came to visite him, for that tenne yerres had passed in whiche shee had not seene him: and not tenne dayes after shee had inioyed the sight of her desired sonne, shee dyed and passed out of this worlde. Vnto whom Pertinax erected so solenne and sumptuous obsequies, and so generous a sepulchre, whereof was diuined that shee was the mother of some Emperour to come, and that the Empire should fall into his handes. The affaires of Germanie being settled, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent his commaundement vnto Pertinax, to passe into Datia, which now is named Denmarke: and vnto assigne him fiftie thousande sesterces for his stipend, whiche may amount to fise thousande Ducates of our money: whereat manye did enuie, no lesse for the greates summe of money which he gaue him, then for the honorable gouernement that he committed vnto him.

Polu

Polu: Pertinax being growen verie riche, and notified bothe valiant, hardie, and in greate estimation, hee was therewithall enuied of manie: which hatred bozne him by his contemporaries and companions in the warres, they discouered by their extreme publishing his negligences, darkening and infiebling his heroicall actes.

It is an auncient custome in the malice of man, to holde nothing for well done, but that which we loue, although it be euill: and to esteeme nothinge for euill, but that which we hate, although it be right perfect. Where came from Datia certeine souldiours to Rome, whiche gaue forth so peruerse and foule information againste Pertinax, that presently the Emperour did suspende his office, and discharged him of his stipende, and that he shoulde serue one whole yeare at his owne proper costes in Illyria.

This imperiall commaundement being notified vnto Pertinax, presently with greate patience he obeyed, and departed vnto Illyria to perforce his banishment with much constancie: and they saye, that he saide these wordes at his departing.

I am not grieued for the honour whereof they haue deprived mee, either for the stipende which they haue taken from mee, either of this exile whiche they haue sent mee: but it griueth mee that this commaundement shuld proceede from so good a Prince, and I not hearde, either he well informed: because mine innocencie being knowne (as shortly it shalbe knowne) the Emperour, my Lord, shalbe noted of all men, as a Prince of light beliefe, and I shall obtaine the credite and fame of a gentleman, bothe sincere and patient.

And as Pertinax said, so it succeeded, which is to witte: the Senate commaunding inquisition to be made, and finding Pertinax free and cleare from all matters, whereof he was accused, and manye thinges wherefore to be commended, he was by publique sentence restored into his honour, & to his aduersaries was giuen the paine that he

he did and shoulde haue suffered: although, notwithstanding in short time after, by his owne sute, they were pardoned, because Pertinax naturally was pittifull, and not giuen to reuenge.

CHAP. II.

¶ Of the variable fortune that Pertinax did passe before he obtained the Empire.

The Emperour Marcus Aurelius helde Pertinax in reputation of a man both vertuous, valiant, silent, of a noble minde, and also fortunat: but after he had by false report exiled him, he helde him both for wise, and of great patience, considering howe mildly he endured so vniust banishment, and afterwarde howe friendly he sued for his aduersaries. In recompence of the iniurie whiche Marcus Aurelius the Emperour had done vnto Pertinax, he made him Pretor of Datia, and sent him ioyntly with his prouision, the ensigne, and did also constitute him capitaine of the first legion: that is to saye, to haue the vauntgarde of the armie, which in the warres is a matter of moste trust, and also of honour: in suche wise, that where as his enimies had thought moste to haue confounded him, from thence he receiued occasion to be most aduanced. The prouince of Noricus and Retius rebelled against the Romaines: against whome the armies of Illyria were sent, vnto whome they gaue aduertisement that they were readie to be reduced vnto the seruice of the Romaine Empire, if the Pretor that presently did gouerne them were remoued, and in his place they might obtaine Pertinax for their Pretor: saying and affirming, that they rebelled not, to retire from the subiection of Rome: but because their officers did oppresse them with cruell dealing. Great ioye had the Emperour Marcus Aurelius when he vnderstood those prouinces to be reduced vnto his

seruice: but much more did he reioyce, when he was aduertised, howe instantly they craued Pertinax for the gouernement of that countrie: vnto whome presently he sent, both craying and commaunding: and to the ende that Pertinax shoulde accept his sute, and condescende vnto his commaundement, he sent him the ensigne and liuerie of Consulship. Many dayes after that these matters had passed, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent for Pertinax, which had bene absent sixtene yeares, and as he was in martiall affaires, famous, so generally they came forth into the strætes of Rome to beholde him, as it had bene some monster, brought from the desertes of Aegypt: and being arrived at Rome, he was conducted by the Emperour Marcus Aurelius vnto the Senate: and after all sortes and fashions was praised and honoured as an assured friende boeth vs to praise and honour his approued friende, which was great noueltie in Rome: that is to saye, for one Prince to speake for another in the Senate: for vnto such like Capteines as vnto Pertinax, they did onely heare what they would saye, but vsed not to aunswere any one worde within the Senate. Presently in the Kalendes of January next ensuing, Pertinax was created Consul: which the Emperour wished the Senate had not perfourmed, to the ende he woulde haue made him Pretor principall, because he esteemed him to be in possession of greate wisdom, for gouernement of matters of the common wealth, and very vpight to administer iustice. The people inhabitant neare vnto Danubie, did write vnto the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, howe they were robbed, lost, and euil gouerned: and that if Pertinax were not sent to gouerne that prouince, er long the whole countrie would rebell: which Marcus Aurelius vnderstanding, framed and forced him to returne vnto Danubie: and to the same ende he gaue him power and stipende so accomplished, that he referred vnto himselfe but onely the name of Emperour his Lord,

One yere after that Pertinax had gouerned Danubie,
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the Senate sent him newe provision for the gouernement of Datia, by the occasion of the death of Calsius: and that also he should vse the residence of the Pretor of Panonia: in suche wise, that there was no matter, either in the inferior or higher Almaine, that by the handes of Pertinax was not gouerned and prouided. Two yeares after the death of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax was remoued from the gouernement of Germanie, and assigned vnto Syria: the gouernement whereof was the best, the most honourable, and also the most profitable that was giuen by the Romanes; for that it was not bestowed, but vpon the moste auncient Consul, or the moste valiant capteine, or the moste graue Senatour, or the ambassador that best had perfourmed his charge. All the life of the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax in all his offices was founde to be verie wise, verie iust, seuer, and no lesse sincere: but after the good Emperour was dead, he grew negligent, and also was noted with the blemishe of a nigarde, and couetousnesse, because from thenceforth, he did rather imploye his forces to gather riches, then to gouerne the common wealth. Of this notable example it may be inferred, of that which euery day we see to chaunce: which is, that good Princes, of euil men make good seruantes; and euil Princes of good men, make euil seruantes: for that many times, notwithstanding the seruant naturally be euil, he doth endeavour and enforce him selfe to be good, in respect of his maister which is good: and so by the contrarie, if the Prince be euil, the seruant strayeth vnto euil, although of his owne nature he be good.

Nowe Commodus being Emperour in Rome, when Pertinax bribed, and gathered money in Asia, againste whome certeine people did rise and mutine, exclaiming that he helde them oppressed and robbed; he was constrained thereby, to retyre vnto Rome, to escape their presented practises, to dispatche him of his life: nothing displeasing vnto Commodus, to the ende he might inherite

herite his goods.

Pertinax being come to Rome, and the tyrant Perennius in those dayes gouerning the Empire, and commanding Commodus, gaue him verie euill entertaynement, and worse conuersation: not for that Pertinax had so deserued, but the rather to give him occasion to departe from Rome: for that being (as he was) verie wise, and of great iudgement, valiant, riche, and also auncient: he doubted to be deppriued by Pertinax from the fauour of Commodus.

Pertinax beholding the follies of Commodus, the tyrannies of Perennius, the losse and spoyle of the common wealth of Rome: aduised to departe from thence, and to goe vnto the countrie of Liguria, separating him selfe to liue in a poore village, where in times past, his father had liued and kepte shoppe: and buying that poore dwelling, where his father had solde oyle, fishe, wine, bread, and other victualls, buyt in the compasse thereof a state: ly buylding, permitting the olde to remaine in the nudest without any addition or diminishing thereof. Pertinax exceedingly delighted to beholde that countrie, wherein he had passed his life being but a childe, and from whence he had departed so abiect, and nowe returned with suche wealth and credite.

And being aduertised of the sale of the Asse, whereon he had vsed to carrie wood, to be aliue, he bought it, and did so vse & salue it, as it had bene some auncient seruant of great deseruing. He there erected manie and solemne buyldinges, bought great and many purchases, gaue great summes of money vnto his kinred, old friends, and acquaintance: and did so ioye to see him selfe so riche, where he had bene so poore, and to obtaine so great quietnesse, after so muche trauaile: that he saide, and wrote vnto his friends, that if Princes had thoroughly tasted and knowen the relishe of reposed rest: of them selues, and of their owne proper will, they would abandon their Empires.

Pertinax being settled in quietnesse, Commodus sent his commaundement, that he shoulde departe into Britaine to execute the office of Pretor: which he obeyed, more for feare then of good will, and presently began to reforme the armies: whiche were in robberies verie absolute, and of life no lesse dissolute. And on a time a certeine mutinous legion made commotion, not because they had contention amongst them selues, but early to awake Pertinax, to violate his life. The matter fell out after this manner, that Pertinax found him selfe in so great perill, that all men thought he had bene slaine: yet amongst the dead he escaped alivie, notwithstanding cruelly wounded. After these matters were pacified, and Pertinax cured of his woundes, hee so seriously chastised that treason which they had conspired against him, that he ministred matter to murmur at Rome, and to bewaile in Britaine. The Senate being aduertised, what had passed betwixt the armie and Pertinax, sent a suspence of, and for his pretorian office, and gaue him charge of prouision for victuals and munition, whiche he woulde not accept, but sued for his discharge to departe: for that the armies helde him extreme and cruell, and he of the armies had greate doubt and suspicien. Pertinax being arriued at Rome, founde that Perennius the tyraunt was nowe dead: and Pertinax being a man of authoritie and grauitie, a small time fell into the fauour of Commodus, vnto whome he commended the prefecture or gouernement of the citie of Rome: and succeding Fulsianus whome vsed his office with great crueltie, Pertinax obtained greate good liking of all the people, who perfourmed his charge with no lesse mildnesse and pietie.

Commodus not contented that Pertinax had recovered so greate fauour in the common wealth, and finding no occasion either to kill or banishe him, aduised to discover his euill will whiche he did beare him, bothe in woorde and dede, that of him selfe he would seeke occasion to departe from Rome: who finding apt & sure means to

to renounce his office, retired vnto his owne proper house and cuntry, supposing neuer more to haue bene removed from thence all the dayes of his life: partly, for that he perceiued howe Commodus sought occasions to take away his life: and partly moued of olde age, to repose the remnant of his dayes.

CHAP. III.

¶ What was saide, and what he answered vnto those persons, that offered him the Empire.

After that Martia, Letus, Electus, and Narcissus had slaine the Emperour Commodus, a greate parte of the night being passed, and all persons in the palace being conched vnder the gouernement of profound sleape, Martia and her companions tooke the carcase of Commodus, and wrapt it in an olde Seron, wherein the flutes did beare out the ordure of the stable: giuing them to vnderstande, that it was a certeine vessel, with a charge also to carrie it forth. After the bodie was removed out of the court, they laide it into a carre, and conueyed it into a certeine village named Aristro: where Commodus did vse to walke and solace: but on the next daye his death being published, the Romanes pursued, and although he were dead, they cutt off his head, and trailed his bodie through out all the streets of Rome. Martia, Letus, and Electus, considering they had slaine Commodus, and bestowed his carcase at their pleasure, aduised amongst them selues to seeke out, and to name an Emperour before daye shoulde come vpon them: to the ende the Empire shoulde haue an owner, as also to haue defence vnder his protection: and so it came to passe, when the death of the one was manifested, the election of the other was published.

the matter hapned after this manner: Letus and Electus talkinge with them, certaine of their especiall frindes departed straight vnto the house of Pertinax, knocking at the gate to haue it opened with greate haste: one of the sonnes of Pertinax beholding them to come armed, at such an hour, and with such hast, was taken with so great feare, that when he woulde haue made repozte thereof vnto his father, terrour and trembling woulde not suffer him to speake.

At the instant that Pertinax vnderstood how Letus and Electus were come with armed men, he leapt from his bedde and commaunded his gates with greate speede to be opened, which proceeded of a noble and a valiaunt minde, for that he helde it for most certaine, that for as much as they were both so priuate with Commodus, who did beare him so mortall hatred, and comming vnto his house at suche an houre, might be to no other end then to take away his life. And all the time whilest these matters did passe betwixt the one and the other parte, Pertinax was neither troubled, or altered: but after the maner of a man determined to die, saide vnto Letus and Electus these wordes.

I do well vnderstande that the Emperour Commodus, my Lord, hath sente to kill me, whereof I doe not meruel: but wonder it is, that so long he suffered me to liue: because of all the olde seruants that were bred with his father Marcus Aurelius I onelie am aliue, a small remnant of all the reste which he hath slaine. I may not with reason complaine me, y^e Commodus in my quietnesse and securitie doth send to put me to death, since certaine dayes past, I haue attended this last day & houre: for that abhorring, as I did abhorre his wicked life, I was moste sure hee would

woulde procure my death. It grieueth me not to die, but for that I die before I see my countrie deliuered from the handes of so cruell a tyrant: for I sweare vnto you by the immortall Godds, that I neuer wished anie thinge rather vnto my selfe, either my posteritie, then that it might please them, before they woulde take away my life I might beholde my mother Rome set at libertie. I haue been a right perfect and sincere Romaine, and zealous for the common wealth of my countrie, and doe hope in the immortall Godds, that I shall obtaine that in their presence which they haue denyed mee in their absence, before whome, his malice and mine innocencie shalbe examined. You Letus, and Electus, seruantes, friendes, and fauoured with Commodus, doe that which he hath commaunded you, and dispatche mee out of this tedious and miserable worlde: for in the ende to dye with the swoorde, or to dye with an ague, all is but death.

Letus and Electus were astonnied to beholde the constancie that Pertinax had, and to consider the excellent wordes which he saide: whereunto they made aunswere.

Oh, howe secrete are the iudgements of God, and howe variable are the thoughtes of menne. This wee saye vnto thee Pertinax, because thou thinkest that wee are come to take awaye thy life: and wee are not come, but to the ende thou shouldest giue vs life, and take wretched Rome vnder

vnder thy defence.

Wee may not speake or aduertise thee at large, for want of time, the breake of day being at hande: but the case is thus, that the tyrante Commodus is deade, the cause thereof proceeded, for that he had determined (as was founde in memoriall written with his owne handes) this day to haue slaine vs all: and as by a certaine manner neuer harde of, the matter was discovered, we determined to preserue our own liues, and giue an ende to his tyrannies. In this deed which we haue done, we neither thinke to haue offended the Gods, or committed treason: for that the life of this tyrant was odious vnto the Gods, and daungerous vnto men. It was nowe high time that some man shoulde giue an ende vnto his life, that had taken away the life of so many good men. We, as we were in his fauour, had perfect intelligēce, whome he helde for friends, or enemies: and also we knowe right certeinly, that if thou Pertinax be now aliue, it is not, that he so wished it, or that he procured not to kil thee, but the Gods gaue him no place, but haue reserved thee to the ende thou shouldest deliuer Rome, and restore the common wealth.

No man knoweth vnto this houre that Commodus is dead, but Martia and we that haue slaine him: and as we haue laide our handes vpon him to finishe his dayes, so haue we fixed our eyes vpon thee to make thee Emperour.

And belecue vs, Pertinax, that if we coulde haue made choice of any better then thy selfe, we woulde haue chosen better: because they are so many and so greate euills which haue bene committed by this tyrant, that they may not be amended or repayed, but

but by the hands of some most vertuous prince. That which hath moued vs to elect and giue thee this Empire, is, because thou art auncient, wise, valiaunt, vertuous, riche, and of great experience, aboue all the rest loued & desired of all the people: for that Prince which is not acceptable vnto his people, he shal of many be disobeyed, & of many much lesse duely esteemed.

These wordes being noted of Pertinax, determinatly did thinke them to be spoken sainedly and with collusion, and thereto aunswared. Oh Letus and thou Electus, you ought to be satisfied, simply to accomplish the vniust commaundement of Commodus, without perission of these my poore auncient yeres, y is to say, first gilefully to flatter me and afterwards to kill me. As I haue said, perfoyme that which ye haue to doe, which the soner ye shall accomplish, the greater toy shal ye yald vnto Commodus, and deliuer me of griefe. I well know that Commodus now sleepeth not, but carefully abideth your returne, for at this present he attēdeth no better newes, then the report, that ye haue given an end vnto my wretched life. Letus and Electus considering that Pertinax continued doubtful and suspicious, began to say and replie: there is so small time for so great affaires as wee haue to do, that there resteth no time to contend vpon our ambassage and thy suspicion: and because thou shalt see the truth of that which we haue said, and not as thou suppoest, take and read this memoriall; witten with Commodus his owne hand, and there shalt thou see, how great reason wee had to kill him this night, since to morrow he ment to haue slaine vs all. Pertinax receiuing the memorial into his hands, and knowing it to be Commodus witting, found himselfe placed in the fourth degree, which is to witt, that on the morrowe Commodus would haue killed Martia, Letus, Electus and Pertinax: & so by degrees, many other Senators & Consuls of Rome. Pertinax hauing read y memorial, stayed as one astonied

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again

againē demanding if Commodus were dead in dede: they aduouched no lesse, and thoroughly affirmed the same: whereuppon hee beganne most pitiously to weepe: saying, that he wept not for the death of Commodus, but because the memorie of the good Marcus Aurelius in him was finished. And lifting his eyes vp to heauen, said: Oh vnfortunate Marcus Aurelius, Oh vnfortunate Marcus Aurelius, Oh infortunate Marcus Aurelius: (three times exclaiming him to be vnfortunate and unhappie) because thou wast vnfortunate in thy wife, whiche thou possessedst: in thy daughters which thou nourishedst, & in thy sonnes which thou begattedst.

CHAP. III.

¶ A certeine notable speach vttered by Letus vnto the armie, in the fauour of Pertinax.

After that Pertinax had bewayled the death of Commodus, not for his owne condition, but for that he had bene the sonne of the good Marcus Aurelius, hee said vnto Letus & Electus, that he would not by any meane receiue the Empire, if the Senate did not commaund it, and the armie consent vnto it: because to hold the Empire safe and establishes, and not to enter the same as a tyzant: vnto the Senate, if apperteyned to vse their election, and the armie their confirmation. Letus made offer to finish all that which Pertinax demaunded: that is to say, the Senate should elect and chouse him, & the armie confirme and allow their election: and the hope that he had to obtaine the same was, that hee had amongst them many friends and kinnesfolke: and the ioy that all would receiue vpon the newes of his death. Letus departing to talke with the Captaines and leaders of the armie, made vnto them a compendious speach after this manner.

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His Oration to the
assemblie.

THAT which now I meane to say (right excellent Princes, and my martial companions) will be verie straunge vnto your hearing, although not farre distant from your desires: because of many things whiche we desire, the least and fewest parts thereof we do obtaine. Neither are the Gods so liberall to giue vs all that we desire, either so niggard to denie vs all that we craue: and this they do, because we shal acknowledge them to be good, for that which they giue vs: and confesse our selues to be euill for that which they denie vs. The good and vertuous be not onely knowen, in the good woorkes which they doe, but also in their good desires which they haue: because the euill and wicked, if they durst, would neuer cease to commit mischief: and the vertuous if they might would neuer growe cold in doing vertuous acts. The Gods neuer ioyntly accomplished the desires of so many, as this day they haue accomplished all your desires: for being (as you are) noble, generous, valiaunt, true, and no counterfect Romanes: it is not to be thought that ye should wish or desire, but the libertie of our mother Rome, and the reformation of our auncient common wealthe.

Ye haue all scene what the Emperour Commodus hath bene, whiche is to witt, howe large in commaundement, howe cruell in killing, howe carelesse in gouernment, & how filthie of life: through which
cause

cause, we not onely held our houses as consumed & lost, and our persons in perill; but also were defamed throughout all straunge nations. The Prince that is ouer youthly, foolish, absolute or dissolute, looseth his people, and defameth his kingdome. Since ye haue seene the evils and cruelties which hee hath done, I would haue you see, heare, & vnderstand, what he met to doe: for as it seemeth by this memoriall written with his owne hand, hee had a will to haue slaine all persons within the Empire: and if hee might haue brought it to passe, it is credible, he would haue cut the throates of so many as be in this world. It was neuer seene or heard off in this world, of any tyrante that hath beene of the maner and condition of Commodus: for that naturally he delighted in losse of friends, and did glorie to haue enemies. Commodus your Emperour is now dead, & if I be not deceiued, I suppose he dieth with conformitie of the whole Empire: because there is nothing more certaine, then that hee which liueth to the preiudice of all men, should die to the conformitie of all men. In as much as the Gods haue taken in good part to deliuer vs from the seruitude of this tyrant, it is necessary, that another Emperour be provided and chosen, and this election may indure no delay, but must be dispatched at this instant: because otherwise, as the great dignitie of the empire, is a thing that many desire, & few deserue: so it might happen that at the time wee would bestowe the same vppon some vertuous man, it might be vsurped by some straunge tyrant. If vnto euery man that is here present, we should haue due respect, according to their deseruing: I sweare by the immortall Gods, wee should want Empires, and not Emperours: but considering

dering the Empire is but one, & is not to be giuen but vnto one, in the end none shall obtaine the same, but he vnto whome the Gods shall assigne, and the destinies permit. The prince that ye haue to electe, ought (in my iudgement) to be natie of your countrie: because the prince that is not natie but a stranger, he shall rather first finishe his dayes, then attaine to the loue of his common wealth. Ye haue also to elect & chuse an Emperour, that possesseth age & grauitie: for that it furthereth not a little the profit and reputation of the common wealth, to haue a beard on the face, & hoarie haire on the head. Also it is right necessarie in the Emperour which ye shal elect, that he be no foole, either a coward: but that he be wise, pregnant, noble minded, & of experience: because in naturall science, and long experience, the good gouernement of the whole common wealth doth consist. Manifesting my minde more clearely, I say againe vnto that which I haue said: that if my opinion might be taken in this case, we ought to determine and fixe our eyes vppon Publius Pertinax, in whome concurre all the conditions aforesaid: that is to say, naturalitie, age, grauitie, science, and experience: & that this is most true, there needeth no greater testimonie for the credite thereof, then that Commodus held him for his enimie. It is not to be thought, that the Gods in vaine, haue conserued the life of Pertinax vntil this day, Commodus procuring by a thousand meanes to put him to death: as it is most true, that of al the old seruants of his father by him slaine, onely Pertinax is reserued alieue. As wee haue all wel knownen that be here present, that Pertinax hath been the man most afflicted, banished, enuied, toyled, and persecuted, of al the men that now are

are aliue in this world: and surely it is a great argument, to thinke that for him; & for no other the Empire hath bene reserved: because the Gods do neuer preferue the life of any man amongst so many perils, but afterwards greatly they aduance him. We ought all to hold it for great good hap, and greatly to gratifie the gods in respecte of such and so many as haue bin slaine in our common wealth, that we finde such a prince for our mother Rome, whom they shal not aduenture to contemne, because of his grauitie: neither be daunted with feare, for that he is noble minded: either noted of simplicitie, in as much, as hee is sapient: neither accused of vice, for that he is vertuous: either reprobued of feeblenes, because he is reposed: finally, no man may deceiue him in words, in so much as he hath experience of all thinges. O most excellent princes and my commilitants, I will say no more vnto you, but that, if ye may perswade your selues to the election of Pertinax, ye shall not onely yeeld a good Emperour vnto your Common wealth, but also euerie man shall obtaine in him, a father for his familie: for as he hath bin a leader vnto vs all, so he canot deale with vs, but as with his children.

All the time that Letus was reasoning these matters vnto the armie, they stode all astonied and rapt: partly in hearing the memoziell, conteyning the treason that Commodus had ordeyned, & partly for the newes of his death: and also in considering how aptly & eloquently Letus had vsed his speach in opening the matter. Presently at the instant that Letus had finished his talke, the whole armie began to say & exclaime: *Vivat vivat Pertinax Augustus*, which is to say, Long & many yeares may Pertinax liue our Romane Emperour. All the p[ri]ncipal of the armie departed to

to visite Pertinax at his owne house, & found him not, but in the temple of victorie, and taking him vpon their shoulders they carried him about all Rome: and as it was then, as yet not thoroughly day, the townermen were abashed to heare such newes; because not knowing that Commodus was dead, they heard that Pertinax was proclaimed Emperour. The Romanes afterwards did sweare and affirme, that in long time past there was euer any newes divulgate in Rome, that generally gaue so great ioy vnto all persons, partly for the newes of Commodus death, as also for that good old Pertinax was made Emperour.

CHAP. V.

¶ Of an Oration made by Pertinax in the Senate immediatly after he was elected Emperour.

Very great was the ioy that was manifested throughout all Rome, because they had obteyned Pertinax for their Lord, and no lesse was the heauinesse that Pertinax discovered, to behold himselfe an Emperour: for he said, that this name or title of imperie or regiment, was the thing that euery man desired for himself, and in others did most abhorre. No signe of an Emperour would Pertinax consent to accompanie him, vntil he and the Senators had scene, conferred, and saluted ech other, and all ioyntly being mounted vpon the height of the Capitol, where imperial clothe of estate was placed, Pertinax would by no meane sit downe in that imperial seat, but toke the Consul Glabrio by the arme, and by strong hand would haue set him in the same, seriously affirming, that it appertained much better vnto his deservings. Glabrio was a Romane, in age very auncient, in condition very mild, in government very wise, in life of great sinceritie, & in blood much esteemed: for that he was descended by the right line of king Aeneas sonne vnto Anchises, and sonne in lawe vnto king Priamus,

and

and father to Aschanius. When Glabrio persecuted Pertinax to persist with so great instance to interest him with the Empire, he said vnto him in the presence of the whole Senate: the humble humilitie which thou shewest Pertinax in the want of merit of the Empire, the same maketh thee of deseruing sufficient of the Empire, vnto which election all wize of the Senate do consent: not moued thereto by the election of the arme, but to see thee make so small account of thy selfe: in such wise, that this thy refusal yeldeth thy merit sufficient. A great while was the whole Senat persuading Pertinax to condescend to their request, which is to wit, to accept the Empire: but his repugnance was so great, that in a manner by force they placed him in the chaire: and that which is moze, the whole Senate perceiued, that he did nothing feynedly: for it was lamentable to heare the lamentation which hee made, and to see the abundance of teares which he shed. But after wards, when hee was placed in the imperial chaire, Pertinax spake vnto the Senate after this manner.

His Oration to the Senate.

THAT which I will now speake vnto you (fathers conscript) the God Iupiter, in whose house now we stand, be my witness, I wil not therein deceiue you: for this place being consecrate vnto the gods (as it is) it should be great sacrilege, for men to aduenture to lye therein. For all weaknesse which men commit, they may haue excuse, except it be for lying: because vnto other vices, humane weakenes doth inuite or intice vs: but to lye, we are not moued but with our owne proper malice. Fathers conscript, ye see how Commodus your Emperour is dead, and the destinies haue brought to passe that, I succede him in the Empire: perchance, for as much as he did wishe mee euill, and
his

his workes of my part not very well liked, it may be thought of you, that the manner of his death was first notified vnto mee, and his life cut off by my deuice: wherein throughly to satisfie you, I sweare and protest by the immortall gods, that of this fault I am not guiltie: because I was so innocent thereof, that when they said that Commodus was dead, at that instant I thought he had sent to haue slaine mee. Notwithstanding, that both he and we shal all die, I would not that so straunge a death should haue finished his dayes: not because Commodus did not deserue the same, but for the great bond which our mother Rome doth owe vnto his father Marcus Aurelius: for it many times happeneth, that the errours of the children, be recompenced with the merittes of their fathers. I was seruant and aduanced of the good Marcus Aurelius, which is the greatest weale that the destinies might haue giuen me in this world, & I say it is to this end, because it should be great griefe vnto me, if in my presence any thing should be said, either in my absence any thing should be done, against his sonne Commodus, although he be now dead: for that in my heart, I finde my selfe much more bound to acknowledge the great goodnes which I receiued of my Lord Marcus Aurelius: then to reueng the iniuries that I suffered of his sonne Commodus. Beleue mee (fathers conscript) that if ye shall do contrary vnto this which I haue said, it may be, that obseruiug time wherein I shall find my selfe, it shalbe necessarie to dissemble it, but I may not cease greatly to feele it. The prouidence of the gods is farre different from the deuices of men, & that which moueth me to this speach, is, that when I was a yong man, I much desired the Empire, and might not at-
P. teine

teine it: and now that I am old and do abhorre it, they force mee to take it: in such wise, they giue vs that which we hate, and denie vs that which we seeke or craue. When I began to hold offices in the common wealth, I thought it most certaine, that it was no humane matter, but a diuine dignitie, to be a Romane Emperour: but after I tasted of the trauels of commandements, and of authoritie, and vnderstoode the peril to reigne: I did clearely see that amongst all the trauels of men, to be an Emperour is the greatest.

Neither merueile, either be escandalized (O ye fathers conscript), to see me so vntratable, and with so many teares to refuse the Empire: for if I thought to vse my selfe therein as a tyrant, I would not caste it off, but would rather procure the same: but as my meaning is to liue & gouerne more to the profite of the common wealth, then to the aduancement of mine owne house: respecting my small strength, the Empire is to mee, a great burthen. Being, as I was, most truly satisfied with the acquaintance and conuersation of the trauels of the Empire, there were no reason to think, I should desire the Empire: because there is none so foolish, as the man, that with the hope of a remedie, would offer himselfe vnto an hazard. Vnto this day I haue bene esteemed in possession of great wealth, but now that I am an Emperour, I am forced to become poore: for y^e a prince, in respect of such, with whō he hath to deale and accomplish, hath fewe thinges to giue, and hath a thousand necessitites that constreine him to bribe and robbe. Vntil this day I haue had some quietnesse, but from henceforth I shalbe constreined to liue discontented: because from the trauel and disquietnes of the prince, peace and quietnesse doeth proceede vnto the com-

mon wealth. The office of the prince is not to sleepe, but to watche: not to be idle, but to trauell: for that euerie excessiue recreation, which his person taketh, forthwith redoundeth to the offence of the common wealth. From my birth vntill this day, of any thing I haue not had greater experiēce, then to see, heare, read, suffer, and experiment trauels: wherof many I beheld farre off: but alas of my selfe, that nowe am inuironed therewith: because the appetite of the vulgar people is so feeble and variable, that if to day they giue and elect a good prince, to morrow they would relishe and haue a taste of the gouernement of some other. Naturallic, all men, in all thinges, and at all houres, desire to heare and see nouelties, and much more desire the same in the estate of gouernement, then in all other thinges: for that no prince gouerneth so well, but that they conceiue an other should gouerne better. Vntill this day I haue bene well liked, serued, and reuerenced, but from henceforth al men for the most part, shal beare me enuie and hatred: because the estate of princes is so enuied, that hee shall want sand in the Sea to reckon his enemies: but the number of his fingers of one hand, shal exceede to point out his friends.

All this I haue said (fathers conscript) to the end ye shall not merueile, why I haue refused the burthen of the Empire, but rather am escandalized, knowing what I know, to see my selfe charged and ouer laden with y^e Empire: because to renounce it, a thousand thinges do moue me, & to attempt it, nothing inuite me. But since the gods haue so willed, my destinies so permitted, & ye also haue so ordeined: I determin to lode my selfe with this burdē, although I am assured it wil cost me my life: but I yeld it al for wel employed, if it

perfourmed to the benefite of the common wealth.

These wordes being said by Pertinax, the Senate received great pleasure, and chiefly praised him, for that he forbade all men to speake euill of Commodus, knowing (as they all did knowe) that he had bene his mortall enemie. The Senat receiued Pertinax in the midst amongst them, and did accompany and attend vpon him, vnto all the temples: and euery temple did offer vnto the Gods, notable sacrifices. And most truly this was a notable and also a laudable custome amongst the Romans, which is to witt; that princes newly elected, did first visite the Gods, before they permitted themselves to be visited of men. As Pertinax had his person in so great authoritie, and being elected by the armie, and the Senat with so great concord: and further, being old and hoarie headed, and so long time known in Rome, it was a monstrous thing to behold, when he came forth into Rome, how all men hastened to see his face: for truly it seemed little vnto euery man to obey him as a prince, but to loue and serue him as a father.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Of many thinges which he did after he was Emperour.

The first thing that Pertinax commaunded, or prouided, was, that the men of warre were very wel payed: and therewith practised great discipline, in which matter, more then in any other, he presently gaue reformation: for that in the Empire of Commodus, the armie was abandoned vnto great libertie.

Comodus consumed so great summes of monie in vices, y there was not sufficient to pay the men of warre: by this occasion they did filche by night, rob on high wayes, sacke houses, spoile coine, oppresse the poore, and were bribed with rich men: finally, they were desperate, and so fiesht, that

that for feare of any paine, they neuer absteined from offence. Not many dayes after that Pertinax was published Emperour, and with great seriousness on a certeine day, vnto familiaritie with Letus and Electus, a Consul named Falcus said vnto him: what an Emperour (O Pertinax) thou shalt proue, thy wordes begin to make demonstration: since thou leadeest after thee Letus and Electus, which as traytours did kill their Lord Commodus: doing what thou doest, and consenting to that wherto thou didst consent, it may be no lesse, besides the euill example which thou yeeldest vnto Rome, thou giuest also such scruple vnto thy fame: whereby we thinke, that if thou wert not the inuentour of his death, at the least thou delightest to cloke the same. Vnto this Pertinax made aunswere, it well seemeth, that although thou be a Consul, thou art but a yongling: since thou knowest not to make difference of times. It maketh no great matter, that I doe with Letus and Electus, as they did with their Lord Commodus, that is to say, they obeyed him and followed him, and that whiche they most desired, they most dissembled: and at the houre of opportunitie, they dispatched him of his life. The same day that he was created Augustus and Emperour, he was intituled Pater patriæ: this excellencie vnto none, either since or before, was giuen vpon that day. His wife was named Flauia Titiana, vnto whome likewise on the same day that he was inuested Augustus, she was intituled Augusta. The Emperour Pertinax did greatly trauell, to allowe all thinges that his Lord Marcus Aurelius did fauour, to finish that which he had begon, to susteine that which he had left, to repaire that which he had built and to imitate all that which he had done: for he said, it was impossible to erre, in following the stepps of the good Marcus Aurelius. The same being diuulgate throughout the Empire, howe Commodus was dead, and Pertinax chosen Emperour: the countries, cities, prouinces, and kingdomes, gaue very large rewards vnto the messengers wherof, no lesse for the death of Commodus, then for the

election of Pertinax. As hee had bene in so long time in so many prouinces, Pretor, Censor, Quirite, Edil, Consul, Proconsul, and Censor, Pertinax was one of the most famous Romanes in the Empire: whereof succeeded, that after the Barbarians were aduertised, that Pertinax was Emperour of Rome, such as were rebelles, left their armour, and such as had taken truce, made peace. Pertinax had a sonne, whome the Romanes would haue created Augustus, to the end he should succede him after his dayes in the Empire: which he could neuer like off, or consent vnto, saying: The Gods neuer graunt, that with the hope of the Empire, my sonne should be nourished vnto vice and idlenesse. Commodus had laide intollerable imposts and tributes vpon his people, which Pertinax commaunded to be made frustrate: affirming, that of the will of princes in charging their kingdomes with vniust tributes, there succedeth a wilful denial of due and most iust payments. False witnesses hee commaunded to be punished according vnto the lawe named, *Pena del talion*, that is to say, they should be executed by Justice, wherein they had accused others by malice. Hee ordeyned that the testament which had been made by the husband & wife ioyntly, might not be altered by the suruiuer. Also he did ordeyne, that any man dying intestate, should not forfeit his landes or goods vnto the fiscall, but that his sonne, or most neere kinsman should inherite the same: saying, there were no reason or iust lawe, where the dead for want of speech should lose his goods. The Senators on a day said vnto Pertinax, how the Quessors of the treasurie, and the officers of the fiscal, had murmured at him, for the law that he made in the fauour for the dead intestate, vnto whom hee answered: Fathers conscript, I may safely say, there are not so many that complaine of this lawe, as there be that praise and loue it: but I reche not whether the one doth praise or the other mislike: but in my iudgement, it is no worke of Romanes, but the inuention of tyrants, of robberies, briberies & rapines, to fill the treasurie with riches. He made a lawe, that

that no fiscall should sue any person for landes, or goods that were doubtfull, saying: that the fiscall ought to remove nothing that clearly were not his owne: and that in case of doubt, more sure and more conformable vnto iustice were it, to remaine with him that doth possesse it, than with the fiscall that doth demaunde it. He commaunded all things vniustly taken by his predecessor Commodus, to be restored vnto the owners. When the Secretarie came to firme this lawe to be proclaimed, and Pertinax reading the same, wherein it was said: Wee commaunde that all things which our predecessor Commodus hath robbed, which word robbed, he blotted out with his pen, and enterlined this word gotten: saying, it is sufficient that the lawe be in the fauour of the liuing: without iniuring, with soule wordes, Princes that be dead. All that which was known manifestly to be Commodus debt, he commaunded to be payed, and all which he had promised to be giuen: and besides all this, the wheat, oyle, and other things which particularly were vsed to be giuen and diuided amongst the people of Rome, he caused with great diligence to be brought from all kingdomes, and in great abundance and liberalitie commaunded it to be bestowed. Many vniust tributs being take away by Pertinax, there succeeded a great necessitie for the payment and reliefe of the armie of Africa: whereby he was constrained to exact new impositions of his common wealth, whereupon the Consul Gellianus toke occasion to say, that he had done contrary to that which he had begun in the Empire, & against that which he had said in the Senat: Pertinax answering said, When I was Consul (as thou art) I did meruaile at the deedes of princes, and now that I am an Emperour, I meruaile of that which you Consuls do speake: thus much Gellianus say to this end, because thou shalt vnderstand, that Emperours at times, make lawes as they ought, and at other times not as they would, but as they may.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of many things which he did ordeine
and reforme in the common
wealth.

There was in Rome and in the confines of Italie, much
roughe ground for cozne, which being barren for want
of manuring, Pertinax commaunded proclamation to bee
made, that if any man would grub, manure, or till y^e same,
hee should freely for tenne yeares, take the profite thereof.
Before Pertinax vsed this diligence in Italie, fro Aegypt,
Spaine, and Sicyl, they brought wheat to furnish the same:
for which cause Traiane did vse to say, that Rome was
more tributarie then any place of the world: for that they
could not eate, but if it were given them from other kings
domes. There were many particular things said to be
the Emperours, namely, hills, heards, gardes, riuers, pala-
ces, and houses: which hee commaunded to be altered, na-
ming them hills, gardens and riuers, not of the Emperour,
but of the common wealth, for hee affirmed, that on that
day, in which any whatsoeuer, was made Emperour, hee
might haue nothing proper vnto himselfe: and said further,
that if this name Prince be well vnderstode, it giueth no o-
ther dignitie to the person that vseth the same, but to make
him defender of the territories of the countie, and procu-
rer of the common wealth. In the dayes of his predeces-
sors, they had attempted new impositions, that is to say,
in ports of the sea, at the ports of cities, for passage of high
wayes, of barkes vpon riuers, and for barking in ouens: al
which were to the great detriment of the common wealth,
and the auncient libertie of Rome: the collation whereof
Pertinax from thence forth, commaunded to cease. Being
demaunded of the Consul Tortelius, why he made frustrat
lawes so profitable, aunswared: because without compa-
rison much more are the displeasures which they giue me,
then

then the money which they bring me: and as mee seemeth,
we may not saye, that that money is verie cleanly that
comes imbzeled with displeasures. He commaunded
that in criminall causes, offendours should be verie well
hearde: and if in case any should dye, fourtie dayes to be
expired before he should suffer. It was a matter verie
monstruous and scandalous, that was consumed in ex-
pences, in the dayes of Commodus: wherein Pertinax
in suche wise prouided, that they murmured no lesse
against him for his frugalitie, then against Commodus
for his prodigalitie. They muche blame Pertinax, who
set before his guesstes which did eate at his table, halfe
pigges, and halfe geese: and many times sent two soppes
betwixt two plates for a present, and sometime the legge
of a pheasant, & at other times the wing of a capon, and
reserued also in the morning somewhat to be eaten at
night. Princes ought verie muche to consider, and also
to auoyde, not to be noted miserable at their table: for it
is verie small that in such trifles may be saued, and verie
much that they giue vnto the multitude to murmur.
He many times came forth vnto the fiede of Mars, and
there he caused the whole armie to exercise feates of war,
rewarding such as were industrious, and reprehendinge
such as were dull and hartelesse. There were many Ro-
maines, and others in the confines of Italie, which did
owe great summes of money, not onely vnto the fiscall,
but also vnto the treasure, among whome, some in times
past had bene his friendes, and others that were in great
necessitie, he commaunded both the one & the other to bee
deliuered of the fiscall, since it was due vnto him selfe, and
made payement of their whole debt that was due vnto the
treasure. Amongest other vertues, the Emperour Per-
tinax of twaine was muche noted and praised: which is
to witte, of clemencie and gratefulnesse: for that he was
pitifull vnto the afflicted, and thankfull vnto his friendes.
Pertinax had a sonne, whome, after he was Emperour,
he would not permit to come to the court, either as much
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as vnto Rome: but that he helde him in his countrey, fol-
 lowing his owne affaires, and the profite of his owne
 house: whereupon the Consul Fuluius Turbone saide
 vnto Pertinax; that he seemed rather the sonne of a la-
 bourer, then of an Emperour: he lift vp his eyes to hea-
 uen and with a greate sigh, saide: My mother Rome hath
 cause to be contented, that I offer and put my life in pe-
 rill for her cause, without venturing my sonne and house
 in like daunger. Most surely the saying was lamentable,
 and the moze it is considered, the moze profounde it is:
 whereby it appeareth, that he helde him self for moste vn-
 fortunat, to be establisht in the Empire: and that he
 left his sonne in greatest felicitie, to be depriued of the
 Empire.

Although Pertinax were olde and graue, and was
 placed in the height of the Empire, he alwayes vsed
 greate vbanitie towards all men, in suche wise that no
 man did him reverence, vnto whome he did not vtter
 some courtesie: according to the qualitie of the person.

Fiftie seruantes in Rome in one night and in one houre,
 slewe their maisters; for whome the Emperour caused
 so diligent searche, that onely fure escaped: and the paine
 that he commaunded they should suffer, was, to carrie the
 dead bodies bounde fast backe to backe, in suche wise, that
 the stench of the dead; did finishe the wretched life of the
 living.

In the schoole where Pertinax studied, a certaine
 Romaine named Valerius was there also a student, and
 being alwayes in companie, and of age not much unlike,
 and continuing in greate friendship, did many times eate
 with Pertinax, which during their repast were neuer
 hearde to talke, but of science, knight hood, repaying of
 Rome, or else the reformation of the common wealth.

It did well appeare in Pertinax, that he toke the Em-
 pire against his will: for truly; neither in his dyet, ei-
 ther in his apparell, either in his gesture or speeche, ei-
 ther

ther in any other thing, did he behaue him selfe as an
 Emperour, in suche wise, that he presumed not to re-
 present what he was, but what he had bene. He saide
 manie times, that in this worlde he neuer made the
 like faulte, as when he accepted the Empire: and many
 times made motion to leaue the same, and to returne
 vnto his house: but that he did recomfort him selfe with
 this saying: that for as muche as he was of so greate
 age, he might not liue longe, but be deliuered of his te-
 dious life.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ Of certeine vices wherewith he was
 infected, and of the pro-
 digies of his
 death.

As the Emperour Pertinax was olde, so was he char-
 ged with the infirmities of olde age: that is to saye,
 with auarice, because in gathering and keeping of mo-
 ney he was verie diligent: and in giuing or spending ve-
 rie dull and vnwillling.

Also he was noted to be a man verie flexible in his af-
 faires: that is to saye, he was not stiffe, either greatly
 did vse therein any contradiction, but that which one did
 counsell him, another might easily persuaide the contra-
 ry: the cause whereof was his good naturall inclina-
 tion, whiche coulde not without grieve, beholde any man
 that was in sorowe.

Also

Allo Pertinax was noted, that he neuer denied any thing that was demaunded, although many his promises were neuer perfourmed: for, at mosse times he promised to giue that which was impossible to be accomplished. And because the maiestie and greatenesse of Princes doth consist to haue and possesse, whereof to giue: they ought much to be aduertised in consideration, what is craued of them, and what they promise: for hauing to do (as they haue) with so manie, and to furnishe so infinite necessities: they ought, if their subiectes be vnshamefast in crauing, to be graue in promising. Ioyntly with this, Princes ought to be aduertised, that where they haue once gauged their royall worde, all things set aparte, they ought to perforce the same. Pertinax was twice married, his seconde marriage was with the daughter of Vulpitanius, whome he made prefecte when he was made Emperour. As concerning the vnchastitie of his wife, allo Pertinax was noted: whiche is to wæte, of negligence in gouerning, and remisse in reprehending her, for that truly shee was both young and faire, absolute and dissolute: and reposed in Rome, to be more enamoured with a young Musician then with Pertinax her olde husbände. Also Pertinax was much noted to haue vsed vnlawfull loue with Cornificia his neere kinswoman, whome he had nourished from her childhood: for shee was committed by her father vnto his protection: this matter was no lesse scandalous then foule and no lesse foule, then scandalous: for that suche like, and so great euill, was not conuenient to a man of so greate age, either permissible in a Prince of so great grauitie. Some prodigious and straunge signes appeared befoze his death, especially on a time, offering certeine sacrifices vnto the Goddess Penates, that when the coales were mosse kindled and on fire, soudenly they were seene all dead and quenched: whiche did signifie, that in the greate certaintie of his life, soudenly death should assaile him.

Not fixe dayes befoze he was slaine, as in the temple of

of Iupiter he was offering great sacrifices, with his owne handes he offered a Decocke, wherein he found no heart: when it was opened, and soudenly the head vanished, when the throte was cutt. Eight dayes befoze he was slaine, a Starre ioyned with the Sunne, and did shine at noone dayes, as if it had bene midnight. Thre dayes befoze he was slaine, Pertinax dreamed that he fell into a fishepond: and that there was a man with an huge knife to kill him, and woulde haue fled and could not. Iulianus whiche after succeded Pertinax in the Empire, hauing a pephewe newe married vnto his pæce, and hauing repaired vnto Pertinax to visite him, Pertinax saide vnto the young married man: be good, and I shall holde and esteeme thee as my sonne: serue thy vncle Iulianus as a father, because he is my fellowe in office and successour. They had bene ioyntly Consuls, and afterwardes Iulianus in the proconsulship was successour vnto Pertinax: and although he spake it of the succession of the proconsulship, yet they conceived his speche to be a prophetication of his succession in the Empire. It was discouered vnto Pertinax, that the Consul Falconius desired and also procured to succede him in the Empire, and to that ende had taken a deuise to dispatche him of his life, of whiche case Pertinax grievously complained vnto the Senate: the trusth whereof being afterwardes tryed and knowen, he as instantly intreated that Falconius might be pardoned: saying, he had rather extoll him selfe by his clemencie, then boaste him selfe of his vengeance: whereupon Falconius was pardoned, leading his life euer after in his house: and for that he had bene in greate honour, and amongst the Romaines much esteemed, but by that treason had lost his credite, within fewe dayes, more sorowe gaue an ende vnto his life.

CHAP. IX.

Of the occasion that the Pretorians tooke
to murder him.

The officers that Commodus vsed for his service in court, as Chamberlaines, Secretaries, maisters of houtholde, clarkes of the kitchin, postes, cokes, and such other, Pertinax had not chaunged, staying that chaunge until the daye of celebration of the buylding of Rome: for he helde opinion, that before the euil shoulde be remoued, it were greate reason, at leasure to make selection of others that were good. What which Pertinax had thought to haue done in his house, he determined also to erecute amongst the captaines of warres, and other officers of the common wealth, because they were so absolute in commaunding, and so conetous in robbing, that if the paine were recompenced with the fault, it had bene a small matter, from euery one of them to haue taken a way life.

When affaires of importaunce are deferred, the secreat thereof incurreth greate daunger: and for this cause, as Pertinax deferred this matter from day to day, all officers suspected what he woulde do with them, and therfore determined to dispatche him of his life. Extremely was Pertinax hated of the men of warre, and of the particular officers of the common wealth: which hatred proceeded not of any iust offence, done by this good Prince, but for that he consented not that they should robbe & committe vile deedes. Many times the wicked beare enuie vnto the good, not because the vertuous suffer them to do well, but for that they consent not vnto them to do euill: for so peruerse is the malice of some peruerse persons, that they take more delight to do euil vnto others, then

then to receiue benefite vnto them selues.

Vnto all the officers of the common wealth, Pertinax commaunded that they shoulde enioye intierly all fees and profits appertaining vnto their offices: and vnto all the Pretors, and souldiers of the warres, he prouided their wages very well paide them: and besides all this he dealte not with them as with bassals, but the chieftaines he did honour as brethren, and to meaner persones he spake as vnto his sonnes: but all this notwithstanding, they liued in greate passion, and no lesse discontented: for that in times past, their extraoordinarie robberies were muche more then their wages. But thus was the case.

On a daye, certeine Pretors of the armie did assemble at a dinner, with other officers of the citie, as also diuers seruitours of the courte: and after they had largely eaten, and abundantly drunken, they beganne to talke of the dayes of Commodus: that is to saye, howe then they were at libertie, riche, and honoured: and now since Pertinax reigned, they were poore, captiues, and defaced: and that the faulte thereof consisted more in their owne cowardise, then in any other person. And further proceeding in this matter, they concluded to spoile Pertinax of his life, and to choose another Emperour of Rome at their liking, which shoulde reneue the memorie of their Lorde Commodus, and violate all actes that Pertinax had confirmed: and that it was a more safer waye to bee gouerned by a wise young man like Commodus, then by an olde dotyng sole, as Pertinax.

Partely, for that they had their heades troubled with drinke, and their stomaches boate with eating, but aboue all the rest, furiously inflamed with talke, soudainly they rose all from the boorde, and euery man goeth home to be armed, with a determination to dye in that enterprise: or, that same daye to dispatche Pertinax of his life.

All

" All the people being at quiet, and Pertinax rechelesse
 " and without regards, the pzetozians of the armies, with
 " a greate number of armed men, some trayling their lan-
 " ces, and others with swozdes bzalwen, marche vnto the
 " imperiall palace, where Pertinax was reposing: for that
 " it was but little moze then past none. And as they ap-
 " proched the house, they began to exclaime: the memorie
 " of Commodus liue for euer, and the false olde Pertinax
 " is but dead. All such as were present with Pertinax in
 " the palace, neither knewe what to doe, and muche lesse
 " what to counsell: some saide vnto Pertinax that he should
 " sende for succour vnto the people: others, that he should
 " hide him selfe in some secrete place: others, that he should
 " fight vntil his friendes should sende reliefe: finally, the
 " case contained so great confusion, that he whiche feared
 " least, did feare to lose his life: because all those deintie
 " courtiers had excesse of garments to walke in the strates,
 " but wanted armour to come forth to fight. It seemed vn-
 " to Pertinax that to demanda succour, there was no time:
 " and to attempt to fight, they were too fewe: to put them
 " selues to flight, there was no place: to traueile to be hid-
 " den, were a great blemishe: the good pzince determined to
 " come forth & to talke with the pzetozians, to see if with
 " woordes he might apease them. And as afterwardes they
 " repozted which were present with him: that great con-
 " flict, Pertinax did wel discover the greatnesse of his mind,
 " and howe little he esteemed the Empire, and also, howe
 " muche he lothed the vanities of this worlde, because hee
 " neither shewed any apparance of feare, for that he heard,
 " either chaunge of countenaunce, either was troubled in
 " any thing that he had to saye. Pertinax caused the gates
 " of his court to be set wide open, and came forth of his
 " chamber, hauing no manner of armour or weapon, and
 " began to reason with them that did inuiron him after this
 " manner.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of a notable speech that the Empe-
 rour Pertinax vsed, when his
 souldiours came to kill
 him.

IF this so greate commotion, whiche this day ye
 haue raised (O my friendes and commilitants)
 be for that I seeme not woorthy of the Empire of
 Rome: ye haue to remember, that I neither ob-
 tained the same by suite or request, either bought
 it for money, but that forceably ye made me
 to take it, I of my parte imploying my forces to
 resist it. And if it be, for that I haue had no regard
 vnto the common wealth, yee knowe howe ofte
 I haue requested to cease from gouernement, and
 to departe vnto my house: and since this is moste
 true, I knowe not to what end ye shoulde remoue
 me perforce from that whiche I woulde haue lefte
 and remitted with greate good will. And if for
 that I haue beene ingrate vnto my mother Rome,
 or haue vsed euill gouernement in the common
 wealth, ye will take away my life, then I cannot
 but confesse it to be a worke most iust, albeit there-
 by I shoulde be pursued, not onely with paine and
 griefe, but also with infamie: because suche a death
 yealdeth more paine and shame to deserue it, then
 to suffer it. And if ye thinke your selues dis-
 graced, to haue a Prince that is not descended of
 the Fabians, of the Metells, of the Fabritians, or
 Q.i. of

of some other notable Romanes : in this case impute the fault vnto the Gods , whiche so haue created me, and vnto your selues who with such conditions woulde electe me Emperour : because in naturall matters neither deserue we prayse, for y^e we haue, either reprehension, for that whiche wee lacke. It were more iust (O my friendes and commilitants) in this case to haue respecte, not to the shadowe and vanitie of linage, but vnto the vertue & grautie of the persō: for it stretcheth vnto small purpose in good gouernemente, to be descended of generous bloude, and to bee of filthy life. And if ye haue been altered, for wante of pay of wages, for the whole or in parte, presently giue me to vnderstande, and I sweare and promise, that presently euerie man shall entirelie be paide : whiche if it be so, I am vtterly without faulte : since vntill this present I neuer hearde thereof. And seeing ye be gentlemen of greate power, and Romanes of noble bloud, ye haue to consider in this case, that according vnto our lawes, innocencie and ignorance of the fault mitigateth & diminisheth the extremitie of punishmēt. And if in case ye be escādalized for y^e ye see mee rigorous, hard, & extreme, & y^e I am so reputed amongst the people : as small reason haue ye in this case, as in the rest, because vniuersaly they craue that iustice be done, and yet they abhorre y^e execution thereof. And if ye would blame me for the death of Commodus my predecessor, and your Lord : ye haue seene by experience howe muche I am blamelesse, and that vnto mee, more then to anie man, his death was grievous : and that this is true, call to your remembrance

brance the day on which Commodus was slaine : where in I sawe you singe for ioy : and of greate grieve ye sawe me to weepe. You Romaines, you may not denie mee, but that the death of Commodus was of you all desired, and my election of you all alowed : and since it was so, I maruell that men of so greate authoritie and grautie, should in uente so straunge a noueltie as this. that is to say, in so shorte space, to hate that whiche ye procured : and to haue an appetite to that which ye loathed. I sweare by the immortall Gods, I knowe not of anie vile deede which I haue don against the common wealthe, wherefore ye should abhorre mee : neither knowe I anie thing that Commodus hath done since hee died, wherefore ye shoulde loue and desire him : for if we sighe for the dead, it is not for their deedes done, after that they died : but for the good woorkes whiche they perfourmed when they were liuinge. If for no other cause then to take away my life, ye haue ioyned and armed all these men of warre : certeinlie it is a thinge superfluous and vaine, in as much as I am both sicke & olde, and with the burthen of the Empire so muche discontented, and with my life so muche displeased, I esteeme little to liue, and much lesse to die.

It griueth me not so muche to lose my life, as it doth of the slaunder and infamie whiche ye lay vpon our mother Rome : whiche is to say, that the Romans which haue bene renowned for their loyaltye towards their princes, shoulde haue reporte throughout the worlde, to haue slaine their Emperour.

Ye knowe that ye beeing (as ye are) men of warre, and to no other end eſo well payed and relieued of y^e tribute, but to chaſtice ſuche as rebell in the cominon wealth, and to defende the houſe and the imperiall perſone of your prince: and ſince it is thus, what may be more vnſeemlie, impertinent, and ſcandalous, then ſuche as be admitted for my garde and ſafetie, that they and no other ſhould come to take away my life. And for as muche as ye be men of warre, ye are bounde to obſerue the lawes there of: that is to ſay, euen in the warrs of enemies, yee may not, or ought not to kill children or olde men: and ſince I am an olde man, and a citizen of Rome, wherefore will yee do with mee, that which yee will not do with an enemy? In theſe wordes which ye haue ſaide, in the diſorder which ye haue vſed, and in the houre wherein ye haue vndertaken this matter, it clearely appeareth that to enterpriſe ſo greate a matter, ye haue not vſed greate prouidence: for if ye had conſidered and examined the matter, ye ſhoulde moſte certainlie haue founde, that in your determination to kill mee, there is no other fruite gathered, but to raiſe in your mother Rome a greate ſcandal, and to thruſte your ſelues in great daunger. And ſince one ſhall inherite the Empire, and not all: with what folly are you taken (ye Romaines) for ye al to hazarde and loſe your ſelues for one mans gaine, and yet knowe not, if afterwarde that one man ſhall be gratefull or vnthankefull. I may not ſee that which the deſtinies haue ordayned, either what ye haue determined: but in caſe

this

this be my laſt day, and my fatall houre be come: I pray the immortal Godes, that the innocent bloude which ſhall be ſhead of me, that the vengeance thereof fall not vpon my mother Rome: but that euerie one of you ſhould feele it in his perſon and his houſe.

When Pertinax came to the pointe, to ſpeake theſe wordes, for the moſte parte al that were preſente let fall teares from their eyes, and beganne to departe, turning their backs, and holding downe their weapons: becauſe they had greate ſhame, to offende and to wante reuerence vnto ſo honourable hoſtie haire, and to wordes ſo wel ſpoken. He that moſte vilelie had ſpoken againſt Pertinax, & he that moſt had moued y^e men of warre, was one named Tuncius of y^e countrie of Theutonio: this wretched captiue whē he ſaw that al men returned, and had renounced to kill Pertinax, he thruſt a lance through the middeſt of his bodie: with which wounde, Pertinax fell to the earth, and there vpon gaue him other woundes wherof he preſentlie dyed. Greate ſorrowe was it vnto the people of Rome, when they vnderſtoode that Pertinax was dead, and hauing reigned but ſourteene moneths & xx. dayes, he profited more the commonwealth, the others in ſourteene yeares. The traytour Tuncius was not contented to haue ſlaine Pertinax, but he alſo and his companions ſo gotte not to cūte off his head, to ſire it on a lance, and to beare it through the ſtreets of Rome. Pertinax died the ſixte daye of April Falconius & Clarus being Conſuls, his head was thruſt into his enemies into Liber, his bodie buried by his friends and kinſfolkes in the ſepulchre of his father in lawe, at that preſent without anie funerall pompe, becauſe they ſeene all perſons that vttered ſorrowe or grieſe for his death.

Q.iii.

THE

*The life of the Emperour Iulianus, that
bought the Empire, compiled by*

*syre Anthonye of Guevara, Bishop of Mondon-
nedo, preacher, chronicler, & coun-
seller vnto the Emperour
Charles the fift.*

CHAP. I.

*Of the life, linage, and countrie of the Empe-
rour Iulianus.*



*The Emperour Didi^o Iulian^o, had to his
great graundfather a Romaine named
Salianus, who was a learned lawyer,
twise Consul, Pretour of the cite, and
died in the secod yere of the reigne and
Empire of Nero: and they say, he died
of pure sorow, to see the common
wealth in the handes of so furious a ty-*

rant, as Nero.

*His graundfather was named Salbius Iulianus, who
gaue him selfe more to armes, then to letters: and went
vnto the warres of Dacia with Traiane, and was captaine
of the seconde Legion, and longe time blouder of the victu-
alls, and in the ende dyed in his office, that is to say, in the
warres against kinge Dacus. His father was named Di-
dius Petronius, who neither gaue him selfe to science, ei-
ther folowed the warrs as his predecessours, but was re-
sidente and liued alwayes in Rome, folowing his affaires,
and holdinge offices in the common wealth: hee was an
assured*

*assured friende vnto Antoninus Pius, and dyed in the Em-
pire of the good Marcus Aurelius. His mother was named
Clara Emilia, a generous and noble Romaine, a greate
friende and kinswoman of Domitia Lucilla, that was
mother vnto Marcus Aurelius: so did she intreate and fa-
uour him as a sonne, and he did obey her as a mother. The
first office that Didius Iulianus did beare in the common
wealth, was Decembriato, which is to wete, to be one
of the x. bistours of y people: and though he wanted age to
use it, yet he wanted not fauour to obtaine it, because Do-
mitia, mother vnto Marcus Aurelius, did craue this office
for him in the Senate. He was also Questor two yeaeres
together, which office he helde against the Romane lawes,
for that he was vnder the age of xxx. yeaeres: but as hee
obtained the office of Decembriato by the sute of the mo-
ther, so did they graunte the other, by the fauour of the
sonne, which is to wete Marcus Aurelius. And after that
Didius Iulianus was past the age of thirtie yeaeres, he ne-
uer wanted offices in the common wealth: for vntill that
age, y Romanes had rather that yongemen shoulde occu-
pie them selues in learning, then in commaunding and
gouernement.*

*Iulianus was Edil, Pretor, and Censor diuerse times,
diuers yeaeres, and at times muche distant: but the office
wherein he continued longest time, was Romaine Pre-
tor: because he had learning to gouerne, and iustice to ex-
ecute. He was naturallie giuen to the warres, and with
this motion he went one time into Germanie, where hee
neither obtained fame, either augmented his goods: for
that certeinly he was more handsome in gouernement,
then hardie in fight.*

*He gouerned by the space of thre yeaeres, the prouince
of Belgica, whiche now is named Swetia, in which go-
uernement, he behaued him selfe so venturoullie, y he ob-
teined what he had lost in the warre, which is to say, much
reputation in the common wealth, and greate goodes for
his house.*

In the seconde yeare of the Empire of Marcus Auggellus, the inhabitantes neere vnto the riuer Albo (whiche is in the kingdome of Bohemia) rebelled, vnto which commotion Didius Iulianus repayed: and as hee was humble of speache, skilful and aduised in his affaires, so in short space he reduced them vnto y^e seruice of the Romaine Empire, when the Senate had intelligence what Iulianus had done in Bohemia, the Emperoure thoughte him selfe therein verie well serued, and the Senate no lesse contented: chieflie, for that so graciously hee had perfourmed the same, without requeste or commaundemente: and in recompence of this so singular a service, they sent him the Consulship, without his requeste, or any other to sollicite the same. When the newes of Consulship came vnto Iulianus, they saue that he said: I sweare by the immortal Goddes, that I neither solicited the Consulship, either thought to haue obtained the same: but here in it cleaerly appeareth, that the good dothe more sollicite with his good report, then she can with his manie sayles. After he had accomplished the yeare of Consulship, hee was sent vnto y^e lower Germanie as Pretor, which countrie is now called Flanders, where he remained two yeares: and then returned to Rome, where he had charge of victuals, which office amongst the Romaines was more profitable, then honorable. The Emperour Marcus Auggellus being deade, his sonne Commodus reigning in the Empire, Iulianus was accused for a traitour, for that he, and Siluius his cousin, had conspired to haue slaine Commodus: his accuser was a noble gentleman of Rome named Seuerus: but for that he might not proue his accusation, they cut off his heade, and set Iulianus at libertie. At one time Iulianus was in fauour with Commodus, & an other time in disgrace: but after that he was accused of conspiracie, he did allwayes beare him mortall hatred: and when he vnderstode this in Commodus, both in word and dede, moste times he kept his house, and excused

excused him selfe from the offices of the common wealth. Iulianus was a lawyer, and in letters moste learned: of whome it is said, that fewe did surpasse him in science, and none was equall vnto him in eloquence: for hee did neuer pleade any cause in the Senate, but he obtained the victorie. He was prompt in speache, sharpe in propounding, and graue in determination, of stature somewhat lowe, of sanguine complexion, and in his youth beganne to be hotheaded: of whome in this case it may be saide, that hee was a monster in nature: for that he had neuer a white haire in his bearde, either any blacke haire in his heade. His wife was named Mahia Escantilia, and had but one daughter named Didia Clara. In this also as in the other, nature woulde be extreme: because the mother was the moste foule woman that had bene seene in Rome, and the daughter was the fairest dame, that euer was seene in Italie.

As Iulianus had gouerned manie countreies, had the charge of victuals, & was chiefe aduocate in lawe in al Rome, so he obtained the possession of manie iuels, and the hoarding vp of greate summes of money: for whiche cause, all the principall Romaines sought to be his sonnes in lawe: partlie to marrie with the daughter that was so faire, as also to inherite the goods that were so greate. Iulianus was slender, drye, and towards his later dayes he was growne to be cholericke about, he neuer drank wine, and therefore did eate muche: and yet notwithstanding, he was so curious and so costlie in his manner to drinke water, that with lesse cost he might haue druncke wine. Beinge now growne olde, and rich, and hauing but one daughter, whiche also was married, Iulianus gaue him selfe to liue in ioy and pleasure, that is to say, vsed not but to solace alongst the riuers, to haunte places frequented with people, to recreate with friends, to talke of times past, to seeke exquisite and delicate meates, and allwayes to haue new guesstes: in such wise, that hee did like eache thinge, that was displeasante: and did and procured what

so euer might yealde pleasure. Iulianus longe time perueered in Rome in this manner of life, according to which life, he hau neither faithfull friendes, or feared and cruell enemies, because if anie did loue him, it was for that he gaue them some of his money: and if others did hate him, it was because they receiued no parte of his riches.

CHAP. II.

Howe the Empire of Rome was set to sale,
and also fould by proclamation.

AT the instante that the Pretorian bandes had slaine the Emperour Pertinax, they aduised to ioyne in one, to seaze the walles, to take the gates of Rome, and that with an armed power: partelie for that the people should not rise against them, as also to chosse an Emperour at their owne liking. Although the common people behelde the imperiall palace besette, yet they did not thinke that they woulde haue slaine the Emperour: because the same went amongst them, that Pertinax was come forth, and that with milde wordes he had intreated them: but as it after chaunced, though the greate troupes were rettyed, Pertinax was slaine by the fewer number. When the death of Pertinax was notified vnto the commō people, at Rome was readie in armour. Verie greate was the confusion whiche was that day in Rome, both of the one parte, to see Pertinax slaine, and also for that the armie was bent against the people, and euerie houre rebie to ioyne & kill eache other, but that they knewe not againste whome to fight: because the people woulde haue taken vengeance of the traitours that had slaine the Emperour, but the armie woulde not deliuer them: in such wise, that they were

were all faultie in that acte, the one in the acte, the other for consent.

The moste principall of the Senate, manie matrones of Rome, moste wealthy persons, and such as loued peace and quietnesse, after that they saue the walles besette, the towres taken, the gates lockt, and the streetes stoppe thzough out al Rome, they departed vnto their inheritances, vntill they might see the conclusion of that so perilous & scandalous a tumulte: for they had had experience, that no man might be safe in his house, vntill there were a new Emperour: and that the election of him, shoulde be consecrated with the handes of manie persons. The Pretorian bandes beholding the moste parte of the people to be fled, and none lefte that durste reuenge the death of Pertinax, or resist their attempts: they lost al feare, and recovered a newe courage, not to amende the fault whiche they had committed, but to giue and sell the Romane Empire. The case was thus, that a man at armes mounted vpon the wall at the gate Salaria, who in the name of the whole armie made proclamation, and saide with a loude voice: Is there anie man that will giue more for the Empire of Rome? is there anie man that will set a price? for vnto him that will giue most money, we will giue it for his owne. Of all the iniuries, disgraces, and calamities, that the Frenchmen, the Asyrians, the Hunnes, the Gothes & the Lombards did vnto Rome, none was equal vnto this, which is to say, to set the greatnesse and maiestie of Rome in open sale. It was greate grieve to see it, and also prestlie to write it, to see and heare proclamation, who will giue money for the Empire of Rome: vnto whome a fore time the whole worlde had giuen tribute. By this so notable example, princes and mightie Potentates are to be admonished, what greate mutabilitie is contained in thinges of this worlde, since the same persons, that had seene Rome the ladie of so manie and greate kingdomes, did also see her solde, proclaimed, and bought for money.

At the gentlemen, auncient Romanes, and Senatours, coulde not fill or satisfie them selues with weeping, when they behelde and hearde the proclamations made out at windowes: and that which did moze grieue them, was the greate infamie whiche allwayes shoulde followe Rome, in that shee was set to sale: and of the daunger also of the common wealth, which was to be bought of some tyrante. Those that woulde haue bought the Empire, had no money, for that Commodus had ouerviewed and ransackt their store: and those that coulde haue bought, of greate grieve and no lesse shame, woulde not deale therein: for in respect of the iniurie that they shoulde haue committed vnto their mother Rome, it might not be saide, that they bought it for money, but solde it vnto some enemie. In conclusion the segniorie of Rome, and the greatnesse and maiestie of the Empire, passed in publique proclamations, by the space of thre dayes, in whiche no man woulde buye it, or sette it in price: in so muche as the Pretorians were despited that no man woulde giue money, and the common people in greate sadnesse that they woulde sell it. The fourth day after Pertinax was slaine, as Didius Iulianus was at supper with greate pleasure, and talking howe the Empire continued in proclamations, his wife, daughter, and sonne in lawe persuaading him to aduēture to buy it since the Pretorians were growne to so great wante of shame as to sell it. Iulianus consideringe of the one parte what was saide by proclamation, and on the other parte, what his friendes did persuaade him, left his eating, cast downe his heade, and gaue him selfe profound lie to consider of the matter, whiche is to wete, whether it were simplicitie to leaue, or vilantie with money to buy the common wealth.

Iulianus being verie pensatiue with him selfe, and indetermined, his wife, daughter, and kinfolke, yet againe replied, saying, that it was not nowe time to blinde him selfe with studie, but to profite him selfe by his money: and that also he had to consider, that it were lesse euill to buy the

the Empire with his owne proper money, then as other, to obtaine the same by losse of mens liues: and that he shoulde not care to deferre the euents by delays, since the Pretorians grew displeased, and proclamations to be cut off. As Iulianus naturally was proude, founde him selfe riche, and also importunated by his friendes, he determined to buy the Empire: and for the purpose presently goeth to the foote of the wall, and crieth out vnto the watch that was thereon, saying: for blood, ye knowe me to be descended of noble Romanes, and in riches most wealthy: and that he woulde giue them so muche money for the Empire, that they shoulde be abashed to see it, and tyred to tell it. The Consul Sulpitius, rather in lawe vnto the Emperour Pertinax, in secrete did sollicite the Pretorians to giue him the Empire, not to the ende he woulde buy it, but that they shoulde electe him: but the Pretorians although they saue that he was a noble Romane, and not unworthy, but verie conuenient for the Empire, they durste not put them selues into his handes, doubting that he afterwarde remembryng the death of his sonne Pertinax, woulde execute on them some rigozous reuengement. Sulpitius was a man wise and sapient, reposed, and auncient: with the good wil of the Senate, and request of the people, to him and no other woulde they haue giuen the Empire: and doubtlesse had it not bene for the aliaunce which he had with Pertinax, who was his sonne in lawe, they woulde rather haue giuen it him franckely for nothings, then haue solde it vnto the other for money. The Pretorians being muche despited, that they might not receiue money for the Empire, since foure dayes they had proclaimed the sale thereof, and now finding Iulianus at the foote of the wall, who had offered money for the Empire, they put downe a ladder, and toke him vp vnto them. Nowe, when Iulianus saue him selfe in grace with the Pretorians, and the Pretorians hauing him in their handes, they demaunded moze

more then he possessed, and hee did offer more then hee had. The case was thus: that they with him, and he with them, did capitulate iii. thinges, whereof none was to the honour of Rome, & much lesse to the profite of the common wealth. Their firste capitulation was, that he should giue them presently 300000. sesterces: the second was, that he shoulde neither reuenge the death, or sustaine the fame of the Emperour Pertinax: the third was, that he should erect y picture, & renewe the memorie of Commodus: the fourth was, that free-ly they might do, vnder his Empire, as they had done in the dayes of Commodus: in such wise, that Iulianus did not onelie buy the Empire for money, but also gave them licence to liue wickedlie. This done and concluded, the euent of the Empire was stopt in Iulianus, the Pretorians receiuing him in the mids, and attending him throughout all the citie, publishinge with loude voices, Long life be euer vnto the Emperour Iulianus, Commodus alwayes Augustus. Iulianus would take that ouername of Commodus, to do the pleasure that had soule him the Empire: who in their nouerture were bred vp to Commodus, & in their manners and vices as his owne naturall children.

CHAP. III.

Of the great and mortall hatred which the Romaines did beare vnto Iulianus, for buying the Empire.

Iulianus being created Emperour, his first act was, to offer vnto y gods sumptuous sacrifices: being (as it was) the custome of all newe Romane Emperours, presently he sent vnto his treasure for money, to pay them of whom he had bought the Empire. It was a monstrous matter to see y inels that he brought forth, & the diuersitie of money which he had: the cause thereof was, that he

had bene a gouernour in diuerse kingdomes, and from them al, brought no small summes of their coyne. Incontinēt after Iulianus obtained the Empire, he brought his wife and daughter vnto y court, whoe toke vpon them y names of Augustaes, & began to be serued, not as Emperesses, but as Gaddesses: because in their stateliness & presumption, they sought rather to be adored, then serued. The Consul Sulpitius at the houre in which he understood that Iulianus had bought the Empire, departed vnto a certeine house that he had in the countrie, giuing his office vnto Cornelius Repentinus his sonne in lawe, who (as they say) did much resemble Commodus, namely, in disposition of person, and corruption of manners. Iulianus gaue vnto the army most great thanks; not onely for that they had giuen him the Empire, but also because they had intituled his wife & daughter Augustaes and without his request also, had giuen him the name of Pater Patriæ, father of y countrie: which title was y most famous y y Romans gaue vnto their Emperours. On y other day after he was intituled Pater patriæ, early in the morning they founde these Latine letters witten vpon his gates: P. V. E. P. sounding in this sense, Proditor, Venditor, Emptor, Patriæ: and thus meant in english: thou art the traytor, the seller, & buyer of thy country. Unquenchable was the fury & hatred y the whole people conceined against Iulianus, onely for y he had bought the Empire, which raucor and hatred they coulde not so couer within their brestes, but that they published it with their tounges, and shewed it with their handes: for on the first day that he came forth in to Rome, they not onely blasphemed him in the streets, but also from their windowes threwe stones at him: neither did they dine, suppe, or walke in Rome, or in all Italie, but alwayes their talke was of y treason which the Pretorians had committed in selling the Empire, & the greates mischiefe that Iulianus had done in buying the same.

The Senate going to the highe Capitol, to visite the

newe

newe Emperour, resistance was made against them : which was not done with armed people, but by boyes in the streets hurling stones at them, and the women from their windowes did curse them : which being considered by the Senate, they advised for that time, to returne to their houses, no lesse offended, then feared. All men bewayled the case with manie teares, and offered vnto their Gods many sacrifices, humbly praying that it might please them, shortly to take away the life of Iulianus, & to execute cruel vengeance on y^e murderers of Pertinax. On a certaine time the Circen playes beeing prepared, and the seate imperiall placed aloft vpon the Theater, when the Emperour Iulianus shoulde haue set, certaine of y^e people rashly not only did remoue it, but also did breake it in peces : and he as he was wise and aduised did feele it as a man, and did dissemble it as one that was discrete. Besides that whiche they sayd in his absence, they despised him in his presence : and he happened manie times to heare with his owne eares, wordes not a little overthwarte and iniurious : but he was so subtile in that whiche he saide, and no lesse dissimling in that whiche he hearde, that all the iniuries whiche they saide or did, either he toke them in lesse, or did counterfeite, not to heare them. Naturally Iulianus was a prince of greate vbanitie, that is to say, courteous, affable, gracions, and pleasaunt, and did honoure & reuerence every man according to the merit of his person & the estate which he held : yet notwithstanding, he could neither get friends, either appease enemies. Neither Calpurne with his tyrannies, either Silla wth his seditions, either Nero with his cruelties, either Commodus wth his vices, were not vniuersallie so muche hated in the Romane Empire, as Didius Iulianus : and their hatred was so extreme, that they shut their eyes, because they woulde not beholde him : and did abstaine to murmur at him, because they woulde not name him. When they saue his horse passe the streets where on hee

did

did vse to ride, generally they would praye vnto the Gods that he might traile him : or if they had seene his meates carried, they did wishe it might choke him : finally, they did all abhorre his life, & wished his death. Iulianus his enemies bruted among the people, that on the daye, when the Pretorians had slaine Pertinax, he had made a generous and curious banquet, wherein he gaue to eate oysters of the Adriatike Seas, Capons of Capua, wine of Creete, and water of Cantabria : but aboute all, had Musicke and dauncing after dinner. Others saide, it was most false, but on that day he kept his house, and of pure sorrowe to see Pertinax slaine, did not eate, vntil they had giuen a sepulture vnto the dead bodie. Moreouer they saye, that although Iulianus was glad some, pleasant, and also vicious, yet he did not excede in extraordinarie expences, and that it was unlikely and also impossible, for him to haue made so sumptuous a banquet : for it was many times notorious vnto al mē, y^e he did eate in his house no other flesh by the space of iii. dayes, but on Vaire, whiche was sent him. He was such a miser to spend, & so desirous to hoord and lay by money, y^e had it not bene for some dayes of sacrifices, or his bidden guests, not a morsel of flesh was eaten in his house : but only fed of his prouision from his garden. Many euil customes that Pertinax had remoued from the common wealth, brought in by Commodus, he consented y^e the Pretorians & other vicious persons should vse them : not that he delighted therein, but to recouer them to be his friendes. At all times when talkie was mooued of his predecessour Pertinax, he would say neither good nor euil, but that either he changed into some other matter, or else by dissimulation would seeme not to heare. And being demaunded, why he did neither alowe or condemne that whiche was saide of Pertinax in his presence : he answered, of the one parte Pertinax was so holy, that there was not in him to be reprehended : and of the other parte, he was so hated of y^e pretorians, that he durst not in their presence giue him his due commendation.

III.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of two Romaine Capteines named Seuerus and Pessenius that rebelled against the Emperour Iulianus.

At the time that Iulianus bought the empire of Rome, there was a Pretor of the armies in Assyria, named Pessenius Niger: who although he was inferiour unto Iulianus in wealth, yet in vertue he exceeded Iulianus: this Pessenius was a man, grosse, rough, and of great courage, and naturally was more happie in martiall affaires, then fortunate in the gouernement of the common wealth: all which proceeded, for that in periles he was not daunted with feare, and in trauels had no patience. At the first letters that Pessenius receiued from Iulianus, they saye, he answered: the Romane Empire, doth not vse to suffer it selfe to be gouerned by so euil a man, as is Iulianus: wherefore, if this commaundement be onely from the Emperour, I obey it: but if it be Iulianus commaundement, I appeale from it: wherupon it followed, that from thenceforth, when any commaundement was sent unto Pessenius from Rome, Iulianus name was not in the firme thereof, but onely superscribed with the Emperour of Rome. After this matter was discovered, in Rome, they laide great wagers, which was most to be praised, the minde of Pessenius for his haughtie attempt, or the patience of Iulianus that could dissemble the same. Also at that time the armies were gouerned in Illyria, by a capteine named Septimius Seuerus, bozne in Africa, and bred in Rome, which in iustice was verie right, in condition sharpe, and in martiall affaires most fortunate. This Septimius Seuerus from the houre he had intelligence of the death of the Emperour Pertinax, and that in his place succeeded Iulianus, would neither receiue letter, either

either obey commaundement, that came from Iulianus, either else from the Senate: saying, that they for consenting, and he for buying the Empire, were inabilitate of all power to commaund or to gouerne: and further, an euil friend was Iulianus unto Pertinax, that sold his bloud unto enemies, and bought his Empire for money. But the case was thus, that Pessenius in Assyria, and Seuerus in Illyria, reuelled with all their armies against Iulianus: whereof being aduertised, they saye that he said: the gods be pleased to retaine in my seruice, all such as be in peace: small is my care, if the rest had taken their leaue. Although Iulianus saide thus much openly, secretly he conceiued the contrarie, which was after wardes better known by his works which he did, then by the words which he saide. If Seuerus had deadly hatred unto Iulianus, most surely Iulianus was not in loue with Seuerus: for presently, when he vnderstood that he had rebelled against him, he framed and brought to passe in the Senate, that Seuerus was proclaimed a publique enemie of the people of Rome, and all his armie dispatched and condemned. The Senate provided at the request of Iulianus, that Vespertinus Candidus, a man both olde & a Consul should departe to Assyria & Illyria: which was not onely disobeyed in the armies, but also not so much as heard: the cause therof was, the infamous Ambassage which he brought: & because afore time, he was much hated being a Pretor in the warres. After Vespertinus was returned unto Rome, they sent againe unto Illyria, Valerius Catulus, but to small purpose: for if they disobeyed the prouisions of Candidus, at Valerius they ran with lances. Candidus & Valerius being returned to Rome, Iulianus and the Senate sent againe Aquilius Centurius, who had commaundement to kill Seuerus, & that by any manner y^e he might: that is to say, either fighting wth him in the field, or secretly to giue him poison. Seuerus being aduised, howe the Emperour Iulianus and the Senate had sent the third time Aquilius against him, determined to bring forth his armies
It is. front.

from Illyria, and so come to Rome to seeke Iulianus: and marched with so greatespēde vpon the way, that when Aquilus came south of Rome, Seuerus was then in the confines of Italic. Incredible was the feare that fell on the Romanes, after they vnderstood that Seuerus was come against them with all his armies: and their terrour was increased, to consider that he was a capteine of Rome, which vntil that time, had bene a defender of the common wealth, and also for that he had made so great spēde vpon the way, and leade his armies with so great reformation, that in one and the selfe same day, they heard of his arrival, and also behelde him in the face. The Capuans sent a solemne ambassage vnto Seuerus, to be aduertised of the purpose of his iourney, and to offer him their help and assistance: whome Seuerus receiued with great benignitie, and saide these wordes in greatesecrecie. I come not to destroye Italic, either haue I taken armour to go against my mother Rome: the ende of my comming is for three thinges: which is to weete, to rescue the Empire from the tyrant Iulianus, to reuenge the death of the Emperour Pertinax, that was old & honourable, & to reforme the Senate, of such as dare amongst them to aduenture to giue euil counsell; for that I conceiue to serue my common wealth no lesse, in clenfing vices, then defending enimies. That which Seuerus saide vnto the Ambassadors of Capua in secrete, presently they discovered openly: which being vnderstood in Rome, the Senators receiued thereof greatesorrowe, and the people greatespleasure: because the one did hope to attaine libertie, and the other did feare chastisement.

Iulianus gathered all his men of warre, to the uttermost of his power, and sent them against Seuerus, vnder the conduction of Tullius Crispinus: the which, after he was aduertised that Seuerus had taken Rauenna, and all the countrey adioynning, returned vnto Rome: which feminine acte gaue dismaye vnto Iulianus, and courage vnto Seuerus.

Iulianus

Iulianus also commaunded a muster to be made in the field of Mars, of all the Pretorian armies, and he him selfe came to take a view, and an accompt of them, conferring such as came vnto the muster, with the names that were written and receiued money at the paye: of three partes, there appeared not one: whereof Iulianus collected, that Seuerus came not onely with confidence of such as he lead with him, but also of them which remained in Rome.

Great pleasure was it vnto the popular sorte, to behold howe Iulianus was forsaken of his capteines, and not attended on of his Pretorians: because euery dayes their hatred did increase against him, and their loue with Seuerus. Notwithstanding Iulianus procured munition & victuals, repaired the walles, made trenches, aduanced engins, and sent scouters into the fieldes: all which deuises smally profited the sorrowfull Emperour Iulianus: for if he helde the walles of Rome, his enimies possessed the heartes of the Romaines. Iulianus suspecting that Letus and Martianus being two Consuls, and men of greates reputation, should practise with Seuerus, commaunded them to be slaine, without accusation or iudgement.

CHAP.V.

¶ Howe by the commaundement of the Senate, the Emperour Iulianus was slaine.

Vntill Iulianus had slaine the afoze named noble Consuls, the Romaines reputed him onely couetous and ambitious, but from thenceforth they published him to be couetous, ambitious, suspicious, and cruell: for it was a lawe amongst them much bled, to take away the life of no citizen of Rome, befoze he were heard to saye for him selfe. After that Iulianus perceined the Senate to growe sorrowfull, and the people scandalized, for the death of

R. iij.

Letus

Letus and Martianus, he came to greate repentance, although to small purpose: for it was past his handes to giue life vnto the dead, either to reconcile him selfe into the grace and fauour of the liuing. Princes and ministers of iustice ought to be very muche considered, and no lesse aduised, in crediting their suspicions, and to auoide either choler or rashnesse in their executions: to the ende, that after it happen not, that for the deedes of one daye, they haue to remedie and also to bewaile all the dayes of their life.

With greate instance Iulianus requested the Senate, that they with the Priestes and bestall virgins would meete Seuerus and his armie with procession, to see if they might pacifie with prayers whome they might not resist with armes. This suite the Consul Faustus resisted, saying, that it were not conuenient, that the sacred Senate, either the Priestes of the temples, or the holic bestall virgins, should intend matters of warre: for the office of such was to sollicite the Gods to giue vs peace: and further, the Consul Faustus saide: he that possesseth an Empire, and knoweth not to defend an Empire, containeth the indignitie of an Empire. This answer was no lesse displeasing vnto Iulianus, then pleasant vnto the Senatours, whereby he obtained not, that which he desired, and they grewe vnbridled to speake at large. Iulianus not contented with that which was done, but called in secret certeine his capteines and friendes, whome he commaunded soudainly to enter armed into the Senate, and to saye vnto the Senatours, that of two thinges they had to make choyce, that is to say: to lose their liues, or else to obey his commaundementes. Amongest the other capteines there was one named Crispinus, which saide vnto Iulianus, he is to be thought no small enemie of thine, that gaue this counsell: because, if thou be well aduised, for thy loue the Senate haue declared them selues to be an enemie to Seuerus: and now, if thou attempt to kill them, they

they will aunswere, that they will obey thee: and on the other parte, they will declare Seuerus to be a friende vnto the people, and thou an enemie vnto Seuerus: and further, the Gods neuer permitte, that thou shouldest giue forth any such commaundement, or that I should perforce it: for, if he be euil that giueth euil counsell, more vile is he that executeth the same. Iulianus chaunging his conceite, practised with the Senate, that he would yelde vp the Empire vnto whome it might please them: which they liked verie well, but durst not at that present to debate therein: for Seuerus at that time was so neare vnto Rome, that it was rather in his handes to take the Empire, then to receiue it at the handes of the Senate. Iulianus forgate not to sende his Capteine Crispinus against Seuerus: against whome, Seuerus sent another capteine named Iulius Lucius, who ouer came in the battaile, and slewe Crispinus.

When Iulianus considered howe his enemies prevailed, and his friendes did forsake him, he purposed to take the aduise of Witches, inchaunters, and sothesayers, to vnderstand his destinies, and the Fortune of Seuerus: and the case was thus: that after he assembled many Sorcerers and Magicians in his owne house, he made them practise many sorceries and inchauntments, and to sing and praye many filthie, terrible, and fowle thinges. And (as they after reported which were present) he him selfe chaunged countenance, and with staring hayres, discovered him self to be in great terrour. Iulianus came vnto the Senatours, craving their aduise, howe he should provide and behaue him selfe: for that Seuerus approached, and fauoured of Fortune, who had him in contempt.

None of the Senatours answered one worde, but the Consul Geminus, which said: neither art thou worthie of counsell, or deseruest remedie, since thou hast forsaken the Senatours, which should haue graue thee counsell, and

wentest vnto Sorcerers, who could not but deceiue: for that in such a case, being inuironed with sinister fortune it had beene more sounde and sure counsell, to haue gone vnto the priestes, to haue pacified the Gods with their sacrifices, then vnto sorcerers which by witchcrafts should leade thee into their indignation. Iulianus sent vnto Capua, all his garde, & the sworde players of Rome, whose captaines were Lelius Titianus, and Claudianus Pompeyanus, which he did to the ende Seuerus shoulde thinke, that since he had courage to sende to offende him, he shoulde haue no lesse to abide him. The father in lawe of Iulianus was named Aratmenis, whome Iulianus perswaded and requested to take halfe the Empire, in suche wise, that bothe shoulde haue bene intituled Emperours of Rome: and ioyntly therewith swaie and affirmed, that he did it not to remedie the necessitie wherein he stood: but for greate good wil which he did beare him: who answered, this which thou sayest, Iulianus, be thou assured, that I will neither do it, either do I loue, but yketh mee to heare it: because to gonerne the Empire I am blinde, to traueile I am weake, and to inioye it am become olde: and much more respecting the age which I possesse, and the travels which I haue passed: I am more apte to make peace with the Gods, then to take warres in hande against men.

All the men of warre that were in Etruria, did passe vnto the seruice of Seuerus, whome he would not by any means receiue, vntil they had sworne to be innocent of the death of Pertinax. Seuerus at the break of the day, discovered him selfe with all his armies, two leagues from Rome: whiche being knowne vnto the Senate, ioyntly they agreed to determine two thinges: whiche is to waite, to remoue Iulianus from the Empire, and to depriue him of his life, and in his place to elect Seuerus Emperour.

When one of the Senatours came forth from the Senate, and published with open voice vnto the people, that

that they shoulde hold it for certeine, that by the authoritie of the sacred Senat, Iulianus was depriued of the Empire, and in his steede Seuerus elected Emperour. Great was the ioy that the people receined, when they heard Iulianus to be depriued of the Empire: and presently at the instant who best might, made most hast to receiue the newe Emperour: and none passed by Iulianus house, that threw not stones at the windowes, and spat not vpon the walles. At the houre that the Senate went forth to receiue Seuerus, they sent a Gentleman to kill Iulianus, who expressing the sorrowful ambassage which he brought, with many teares Iulianus requested that he might not be slaine, befoze hee had seene Seuerus: but the gentleman durst do no lesse, then to cut off his head, because the Senate stayed at the porte Salaria, and had sworne not to proceede to receiue Seuerus, vntill they were certainly aduertised, that Iulianus was slaine. The unfortunate Emperour Iulianus being dead, his wife Maria and his daughter Escutilla took the body, & buried him in a Sepulcher of his great graundfather, on the right hand of the way of Lavinia. Iulianus was noted to be a glutton, a gamster, couetous, and ambitious: and on the other part, he was pitifull, amorous, eloquent, graue, and subtile. He liued 6. yeares and 4. monethes: he reigned 11. monethes and 5. dayes. After his death they did neither giue his body honourable funeralls, or conserued his Sepulcher. This was the end of Iulianus, who being old, honourable, & rich, would for the exchaunge of the Empire, giue his gods, aduenture his fame, and losse his life.

R.v.

The

The life of the Emperour Seuerus, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gueuara, bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counsellor, vnto the Emperour Charles the fift.

CHAP. I.

Of the linage and countrie of the Emperour Seuerus.

The auncient linage of the Emperour Seuerus was of Africa, his grandfather was named Fulvius Pius, and his grandmother Agrippa, which came and died in Lepe; an auncient citie in Mauritania, & was destroyed in the warres of Iugurtha, & Massimila: his father was named Geta, and his mother Fulvia Pia, a people neither renowned in armes, or glorious in bloud, either indued with riches. Seuerus was borne in Etrutio; Clarus and Seuerus being Consuls, the 4. day of April: and as his mother reported, she had with him a difficult chilobirth; & very tedious to nurse. In his first infancie, he chiefly delighted to play with other children his fellows, the play of Judges: and when his lot fell to be Judge, as sharply did he chastice their trifling fautes, as he did after wards chastice their errours in earnest. Hee learned the Greeke and latine tongues with such singular perfection, and was so prompt to speake, write, read, & dispute in the said tongues, as if hee had bene borne in those countries, and learned no other languages. At the age of xviij. yerres he was a publique advocate, and defended causes in lawe: in such wise, that if he had followed Science, as hee did Warres, hee had bene no lesse renowned in science and letters, then he was famous in armes. He was not full xx. yeares of age, when he first entered Rome: in which dayes, there reigned the right happie Marcus Aurelius, and by intercession of his kinsman Septimius Seuerus, hee had the office to register vailly such as either died

Emperour Seuerus. 267

or were borne in Rome: which office, although it were not profitable, yet was it an occasion of great acquaintance, & to be thoroughly known: because nightly he wet to Court to report who was borne, or had died that day. The first night he entred Rome, by chance his host wher he lodged was reading the life of the Emperour Adrian, wherein was relation of the great perils which he passed, before he might attaine the Empire: Seuerus said vnto his host in iest. In trauels & perills I imitate Adrian: I hope also that I shall succede him in the Empire. By chance, as the Emperour M. Aurelius made a general & sumptuous supper vnto many noble Romans, Seuerus was amongst them, & at the time that he shuld haue taken his seat at the table, wout regard he placed him in the Emperours chaire: and when others derided him for his negligence & folly which he had committed, Seuerus answered: Peace & gibe not, it is possible (my destinies may be such) that as I nowe sitt in the imperiall chaire in iest, so one day I may sit therein in earnest. Seuerus dreamed on a night, he sucked the teats of the wolfe & nourished Remus and Romulus, which dreame he alwayes held for a great god signe of his future Empire. In the time of his youth, he was both absolute and dissolute, especially in womens matters, & other vanities: for which causes hee was many times taken, banished, & shamed. In the offices of warre, he was placed in them all, especially the office of Questor, which he held long time: and it is said of him, that hauing by that office charge of monie, he was diligent in recovering, & faithful in diuiding & parting therof. In the month of January, in the 5. yeare of the Empire of M. Aurelius, it chaunced him to be Proconsul of Betica, which now in Spaine is named the kingdome of Andolozia, where he remained the space of a yeare & a halfe: in which gouernment he was no lesse loued then feared, and feared then loued.

Seuerus being Proconsul in Betica, receiued newes of his fathers death in Africa: wherupon he presently passed into Africa, partly to execute the obsequies, and to giue his father an honourable Sepulcher, and partly to take order

order for a sister that was left unto him, and goods whiche he did inherite. The Consul that then was resident in Africa, sent Seuerus for his Embassadour to the Sardinians, which were reuolted from the Romanes: and entering into Sardinia with certeine burning torches, according to the maner of an Embassadour of Rome, there came unto him a townesman after the fashion of a iester, and did imbrace him, whom Seuerus commaunded to be whipt, saying: In the act of so great grauitie, trifling gibes be inconuenient. For that which this iester did, and for the disgrace which Seuerus receiued, they ordeyned in Rome, that from thence forth, Embassadours alwayes should enter all cities on horsebacke, as in times past they had used on foote. Continuing Proconsul in Africa, he would needs vnderstand of a Mathematician or Astronomer, how farre his fortune extended or did reach: and hauing receiued the day and houre, and also the ascendent of his natiuitie, the Astrologian being amased and terrified of the fortune which his natiuitie did promise him, said vnto him: It is not possible that this be thy natiuitie, & therefore were it meete thou shouldest giue me thine owne, and not the natiuitie of another: for were it true, that thou wast borne vnder such a constellation, thou shouldest be Emperour of Rome. At the age of 32. yeares, hee was in Rome elected Tribune of the people: more for the pleasure of Marcus Aurelius whome he serued, then for the seruice that Seuerus had done in the common wealth: but afterwards he proued so toward, and was so bpight in causes of iustice, that it neither repented the comon wealth to haue chosen him, either Marcus Aurelius to haue procured the same. His Tribunal office being ended, he was named Pretor of the people: and on the day of his election, the more to aduance his honour, the Emperour passing throughe the streates of Rome, placed him with himselfe in the Lictor: which doede was not a litle reproched, of some throughe enuie, and of other some throughe disdaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

¶ Of the offices which Seuerus held in the Empire, before he was Emperour.

The affaires of Spaine being dispatched, Seuerus sailed into Asia: and assone as he had set his foote a land, hee departed vnto Athens: partly to behold the gouernement of the Greekes, and partly also to heare the doctrine of Philosophers: because in those dayes, they talked not of any matter more in all this world, then of the great fortune of the Romanes, and the profound eloquence of the Greekes. Not a few dayes he remayned in Athens hearing the Philosophers, conferring with the Senatours, visiting temples, and viewing buildings: because naturally he was a friend of new inuentions, & desired no lesse the knowledge of antiquities. Although Seuerus of person was valiant, and Capitaine of Rome, and also of indifferent eloquence, yet they gaue him no good interteinment in all Grecia: for which cause when he came afterwarde vnto the Empire, he streightly reuenged the olde unkindnesse which he bare vnto the Greekes, every day diminishing their priuiledges. Being returned from Asia vnto Rome, hee was sente Embassadour vnto the prouince of Lugdune, which now in Fraunce, is named Lion of Sonorona: and being at that time a widower, they practised with him a marriage with a certeine Lady of noble blood, in countenance most faire, and gracious in gesture. That Lady was named Iulia, & of royall blood: vnto whome purposing to present iewels of great price, and finding no goldsmith sufficient to perfozme the same: being also aduertised of a goldsmith in Syria that excelled all men in that facultie, and doubting all messengers to be insufficient, travelled in his owne person, to fetch the same: & as he after made reporte vnto his spouse, that with the rewards which he gaue vnto the goldsmith, and the charge of that voyage, hee might twise haue bene

mar

married. The Senators set to reprove Seuerus, not because he had married, but for the great iourney and large expences which he had passed for a woman: aduising him, that it was not conuenient for a citizen of Rome, to imploy his person, but to aduance his honour: either consume his goods, but for defence of the common wealth: whereunto Seuerus answered, that for none of those matters whereof he was blamed, he either deserved blame or punishment: because without all comparison, much more was the miserie of that Lady with whom he was married, then the expences or travells which for her seruice he had suffered. And further he said: it seemeth vnto mee (saith he conscript) that for this acte I deserve honour, & no blame, since there by ariseth vnto Rome, both honour and profite: because strange kingdoms haue scene, that Captaines of Rome, to obtaine riches, haue strength & skil, and to spend them haue noble minds. Seuerus stayed ioyntly 3. yeares in Fraunce, both loued and feared, & no lesse reuerenced of the Frenchmen: not onely for that he was iust in iudgment, and liberal in expences, but aboue the rest, in that he was of a sincere life. The Calends of Januarie being come, (at what time in Rome they diuide their offices) the Proconsulship of Sicilya was allotted vnto Seuerus, whereof he receiued no smal griefe, partly for that he found himself very well placed in Fraunce, & feared the condition of the Sicilians. Being resident in the Isle of Sicyl, he was accused by his enemies of Rome, that he did not exercise the gouernement of the common wealth, so much as the search of southsayers, who should be Emperour of Rome: because in those dayes Commodus was Emperour of Rome, and all men held it for certaine, that for his wickednesse he should be slaine, or himselfe, for his great viciousnes, should die. Commodus receiued great displeasure when hee vnderstoode, that being (as hee was) alive, and but a young man, Seuerus should seeke for the succession of his Empire: for which cause Seuerus was forced presently to depart from Sicyl, & come to Rome, there to discover and make proofe of his innocencie:

innocencie: because the danger was no greater, then losse of honour and life. Presently bypon his arrivall at Rome, he did yeld himselfe vnto the gaile Mamortina, and would not depart from thence, untill by publique sentence his innocencie was vttered, and his accusers deprived of their liues. Two monethes after these matters passed, the Calends of Januarie were come, in which Seuerus was elected Consul, ioyntly with Apuleius Rufinus: the day that this was published, they say that Seuerus said. This day it is manifested in mee, that men neither know what prosperities be conuenient for them, either what aduerlities doe impeache them: and I say it for this cause, for that criminally I was accused in Rome, and my person prisoner in the place of malefactours: whereof there proceeded, that I departed from Sicyl, came to Rome, giue safetie vnto my life, augment my goods, recouer fame, take vengeance of mine enemies, and obtaine the Consulship of the common wealth.

The time passed of his Consulship, hee stode an whole yeare without any office: and as he afterwards said many times, the best and merriest dayes of all his life, were contained in that yeare, wherein he had no office in the common wealth. In those dayes, Letus the Captaine of the guard was greatly in fauour with the Emperour Commodus: by whose intercession they comended the garrisons of Germanie vnto Seuerus, who so skilfully behaued himselfe in that iourney, that he returned 2. yeares after vnto Rome with great honour, & no smal riches. At his returne vnto Rome, Seuerus bought a certaine compasse of land wherein to till for copie, and to feede and breed cattell, and alongest the river Tiber hee bought certaine stately and fertill gardens, where hee builde houses of great pride, which long time after were called Seuerians.

At a certaine time supping in those gardens bypon the grasse, where the freshnesse of the Greene was verie great, and viqualls very small, the case was thus. His olone sonne, of the age of five yeares, did giue and divide

" diuide vnto all persons, of all thinges that were there, vnto
 " to whome the father said: temper thy hand (sonne) in re-
 " parting, because thou hast no reall riches to giue. The
 " child made aunswere: if I haue them not now when I
 " am a child, I shall haue them when I am a man. All men
 " present wondered, considering the age of the child, that so
 " graue an aunswere should proceede from so tender youth.

CHAP. III.

¶ How the Pretorians did electe
 him Emperour.

*I*n the 10. yeare of the Empire of Commodus, Seuerus
 was sent in message vnto the prouince of Germanie: in
 which Ambassage, he obtayned much honour, and no small
 wealth: for naturally he was of great dispatch in affaires,
 and skilfull to gather monie. Hee was resident in Germa-
 nie the space of thre yeares, that is to say, vntill in Rome
 they had slaine the Emperour Commodus: of whose death
 he had great pleasure, and of the election of Pertinax no
 lesse ioy: because the liuing was his most special friend, and
 the dead his most fall enimie. Not many monethes after
 he receiued newes how the Emperour Pertinax was slaine
 by the Pretorians, and that hee (for very monie) had bought
 the Empire, he was much græued with the death of the one
 and the election of the other. Seuerus was aduertised how
 Iulianus was in great hatred of the people, for merchan-
 dizing of the Empire: presently at the instant the men of
 warre that he had with him, declared him Emperour: whi-
 che was done in a citie named Carunto, on the xii. day of
 the moneth of August. That day whereon the armies did
 aduance him as Emperour, he gaue and diuided amongst
 them so great summes of monie; as neuer any Emperour
 had done afore time: for he gaue, not onely all his owne,
 but also the treasure of his friends. With great speede Se-
 uerus sent vnto the armies of Illyria in Pannonia, in Spaine,
 Fraunce,

Fraunce, and Britaine, and gaue them to vnderstand how
 Pertinax was dead, that Iulianus had bought the Empire,
 and that the armies of Germanie had elected him Empe-
 rour: but that hee would not accept the same, vntlesse they
 (as true defenders of the Empire) would consent vnto their
 election: wherein all, with one conformitie, did alowe that
 election which the Germanies had made of Seuerus, and vt-
 terly did adnihilate all consents and elections that had or
 might be to the aduancement of the Empire of Iulianus:
 and vpon condition that Seuerus should first be swozne, to
 reuenge the death of the good Emperour Pertinax: and to
 giue his fauour vnto the men of warre. Presently when the
 Seuerus sawe his Empire confirmed by the men of warre,
 speedily he toke his way towards Rome: vpon which way
 not onely he had no resistance, but in all places was recei-
 ued with great ioy. Two Consuls, 100. Senatours, 30.
 Quæstors, 22. Judges, 14. Tribunes, 10. Pretours. 400.
 priestes, and 50. vestal virgins, came forth to receiue Seue-
 rus: vnto whom he sent to giue vnderstanding, that if they
 would behold his face milde, that all persons of al armour,
 either open or secret, should disarme themselves: for that
 it was sufficient that he was of the warres, and they to
 receiue him in peace. They being persons of so great ho-
 nour, riches, and auncient, that came forth to receiue him,
 were not a litle despited, that Seuerus should commaund
 them to be disarmed, but in the end they accomplished that
 which was commaunded them, and from thenceforth con-
 ceined against Seuerus most fall hatred: because if they dis-
 armed their persons of armour, they did arme their hartes
 with malice. And as Seuerus was proud with his Empire,
 and the Consuls and Senatours wise and aduised, neither
 did he perceiue them to be offēded, either did they discover
 themselves to be græued or despited: for that, if they had
 patience to suffer the iniurie, they wāted not wisdom to
 dissemble the same. As Seuerus was subtle and skilful, he
 did two thinges befoze he entered Rome, wherewith hee
 greatly wāte the fauour of the common people: wherof the

first was, that he publikely changed his ouer name, which is to wit, that as he afore time was named Septimius Seuerus, after he was named Seuerus Pertinax: & this he did, to the end al men should perceiue, & taking the name of the good Emperour Pertinax, he would likewise folow & steps of his good life, and pzoofite himselve by his good doctrine: for Pertinax was not only loued as a man, but also adored as a God. And the second thing which he did, was, to comaund al the bands of Pretorians, which were the men at armes which guarded Rome, that leauing all armour, they shuld come & do him reuerence: which were the men & had slaine th' emperour Pertinax, not for his owne deseruing, but for that he consented not to their wickednes. Seuerus secretly had agreed with his armie, that they should haue regard to compasse them round, in such wise, & finding them vnarmed, they should stop al meanes to reconer & same for their defence: either place of safetie to flie vnto. And now, when they stood all vnarmed, & compassed, Seuerus commaunded a general silence thozoughout his armie, and directed his words vnto those homicides or manslaughter, speaking after this manner.

CHAP. III.

¶ How he reuenged the death of the good Emperour Pertinax.

Although al humaine things be subiect vnto vauitye & mutabilitie: yet this preeminēce haue & gods aboue men, & al things being subiect to changing and variablenes, they remaine immutable: & al things perishing & finishing, they for euer do continue: because there is nothing perpetual, but such things, vnto which the gods do giue perpetuitie. The great Romaine Empire much resēbleth the immortal gods of heauen: because all the kingdomes of the earth be finishing & haue

haue their ends, but she is perpetual all afe weake, and she strong: all be subiect, she at libertie: all vanquished, and she inuincible: finally, she is she, & neuer suffered her better, or endured another & was her equal. And as it is most true, & the gods neuer giue reward without a preceding merit: so do they not giue punishment without some fault in him, whom they chastise: wherof it followeth, & since the gods haue giuen vnto the Romanes so many and so great triūphes, there ought to be in them many & very notable deseruings. There be two things which cause the Romans to hold frēdship with & gods, & to be lords of mē, which is to wit, great worshippers of temples, and conseruers of people in iustice: for that countrie where temples be not honoured, and the wicked chastised, may be better termed a den of theeues, then a kingdome of good men. Ye all vnderstand that be here present, howe ye haue slaine the Emperour Pertinax, a mā most surely both holy and most holy, because the greatnes of the Empire, being conferred with the sinceritie of his deseruing, it had not beene much for him, but rather a smal reward, to haue beene Lord of the whole world. In this deede ye haue offended the gods, escandalized men, committed treason vnto your Lord, defamed your countrie, troubled your common wealth, and brought all Rome vnto confusion, in such wise, that your fault being so exceeding, it may not deserue any parcialitie in punishment.

Now that ye haue slaine him, is it as if ye had slaine Caligula, Nero, Sergius, Vitellius, Domitiā, or Commod⁹: no, but Pertinax, which was one of the princes most without reprehension, that euer reigned in & Romaine Empire. As princes be few & wilful, so it is a

venture, to chance on such as be good : & so much the more deserue ye the greater paine , as the good Pertinax was profitable vnto the common wealth. Vnto whome shall Rome aduenture to commit her trust, since they which were appointed for her guard , haue set her a sale? O treason neuer thought of! Oh wickednes neuer heard of! to kill the Emperour , and to sell the Empire. After the vassals haue slaine their Lord , and the natiues of the countrie haue sold their common wealth, I know not why the gods comaund not the ground to swallow you vp, and presently put not fire into Rome to consume it: for, after so great an infamie, Rome ought neuer more to be named in this world. Who should haue said to Quintus Cincinatus, Numa Pompilius, Camillus, Marcus Fabritius, Mutius Scauola, Silla, Marius, Scipio, Iulius Caesar, Augustus, Germanicus (who with great and many triumphes did both beautifie and magnifie Rome) that ye should haue set Rome in open sale? I firmly belecue, and am out of doubte, that they would haue died of pure sorrowe : or else would haue slaine your progenitours from whom ye are descended. Fro the time I departed out of Germanie, I came musing vppon the way, what punishment I should giue you: for of the one part, if I suffer every one of you with his life, it redoundeth to the scandal of the common wealth: and if I would take the same from you, the paine is very smal, in respecte of your extreme fault: for vnto one that is eail, they doe him no small benefite, to rid him out of this world. I comaund your noses to be slit, your tongues to be boared, your garments beneth the wast to be cut off, and y our beards halfe shauen : yec shall liue without honour , credit,

dite, or libertie as slaues & bondmen in the common wealth : in such wise, that ye shall not die as the good do vse to die, to the end to liue: but ye shall liue as the wicked do liue, to the end to die. Neither doe I suffer you to liue, because ye deserue life: but for that I will not staine my fame with your filthie blood. If in giuing you al deaht, I might giue the good Pertinax his life: not onely yours, but also right willingly would I offer mine owne : because there is no vent more iust, then y one good life (by y exchange of many wicked liues) might be bought & redemed. If the gods would permit, that at the houre I should comaunde ye to bee slaine, ye should reuiue and recouer life, a thousand times would I take away your liues, because the horror of your offence deserueth a thousand deathes: but since losse of life, in a momēt, doth deliuer the malefactor of his seourge and torment, and afterwardes no other meane remayning to take vengeance: it is more iust that ye should liue euery day desiring death, then that ye should die abhorring life. There is nothing more iust, then to kil him that killeth: but I commaund not that ye be slaine, although ye durst kill the good Pertinax: and this I do not, to the end to do no iustice, either to doe you good or pleasure : but for that many yeares ye shall haue time to bewaile your wretched life, and his innocent death.

CHAP. V.

¶ Of thinges that he did in Rome, presently after he was Emperour.

After that Seuerus had said and finished his speech, and condemned and banished the murtherers of the Emperour
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your Pertinax, he determined to enter Rome, and his receyuing was mixt with ioy and sorrow: because of the one part seing him so great a friend of iustice, they reioyced: and on the other part to see him compassed with so great armies, they feared him. Presently vpon his entrie into Rome, he visited the temples (according to the custome of the Romane Emperours) and there he offered no small, but generous & sumptuous sacrifices. Although in his receyuing, a great part of the day was spent, and in visiting temples the rest was consumed, and now when it was night, he was requested of all men to take his ease, and to withdrawe vnto his palace: yet he would in no wise consent, vntill he had visited the Sepulcher of the good Marcus Aurelius: where he remained a great space vpon his knees, and poured forth many lamentable teares. The next day he went vnto the high Capitol, where all the Senate was assembled, and there he spake vnto all the Senatours, Consuls, and all other Romane officers: to whome he said many good words, and gaue them great hope of many rewards. All the people of Rome were astonied, & terrified, to behold the great audacitie and fortune of Seuerus: which proceeded of consideration howe without daunger, and lesse trauell, hee obeyned the Empire: for that he gat it not by shedding others blood, neither by the exchange of his owne proper goods. The first day that Seuerus spake in the Senate, he made a solemne vow befoze them all: Neuer to kill any Romane, if he were not iudged by iustice: or to take the goods of any person, if by the fiscal he were not condemned. If it had bene found in Seuerus woorkes, which hee sware that day in wordes, namely, that they might not accuse him of crueltie, either note him of couetousnes, it had bene a great weale for the Romane Empire: for there is nothing wherewith princes doe more destroy their common wealthes, and also stain their persons, then to bee giuen to reuenge their owne proper iniuries, and couetous of other mens goodes. Forthwith at his beginning, Seuerus did shew himselfe milde, benigne, pitifull, liberall, valiant har-

ted,

ted, affable, gracious, and humaine, embracing his familiars, ioying and laughing with straungers: in such wise, that the Romanes went after him, hearing what he said, and praising what he did. If in humaine affaires he were prouident, in diuine matters surely he was not negligent: for that euery day hee visited temples, honoured priests, offered sacrifices, repaired edifices, heard orphans and afflicted: in such wise, that in viduozles they compared him vnto Iulius Caesar, in humaine policies to Augustus, and in diuine thinges to Pompilius. The old Senatours and auncient Romanes, that had been bred with Seuerus from their youth, were amased to see how his euil condition was changed: and on the other part they thought with themselves, that all which he did was but fained: for of his owne naturall condition, he was subtile, warie, milde, and double: and did know how to denie his owne will for a time, in that which hee wished, to doe after wardes with all men all that he desired. It is a point of wise and skilfull men, to ouercome their owne wills in small matters: after wardes to drawe others after them for causes of greater importance.

Althoughe there bee more credite to bee giuen to that which wee see, then vnto that which wee suspect: yet in this case they were more deceiued, that praised Seuerus in his good woorkes, then those which did suspect him for his old subtilties: for that in shorthe space they vnderstode in him great cruelties, and no lesse disordinate couetousnesse. Those that from their youth bee not bredd in vertuous woorkes, or that naturally of themselves bee not of good condition, they may for a time deceiue some persons with their guiles: but in the end their malice commeth to the notice of all men: all which was experimented in Seuerus, who vsed violence with his owne proper nature, vntill hee sawe himselfe in possession of the common wealth. The first office that hee gaue in Rome, was vnto Flavius Iuuenal, whome hee made Pretor of the peeple: of whiche prouision of the one part he pleased all men, because Flavi-

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us was

us was a vertuous person: and on the other parte it did grieue them, because he was seruant vnto Iulianus. The whole armie that Seuerus led with him, he also brought in to the citie of Rome: and being in quantitie great, and of condition proud, they might not be contained within the citie: for which cause they lodged not onely in houses priuiledged, and in sacred temples, but forceably brake vp doores and entred houses. The Romanes receiued the same for a very great iniurie, because they onely felt not the despight done vnto their persons, but also did bewaile the breach & losse of their liberties. Wher dayes after Seuerus entered Rome, the captaines of his armies sent to demaund of the Senate, to haue giuen them an hundred thousand pesants of gold, which were due vnto them: for that in times past, so much was giuen vnto them that first entered with the Emperour Augustus. At the houre when the captaines sent these wordes vnto the Senat, presently and ioyntly they armed themselves, and marched vnto the field, swearing and forswearing, by the life of Seuerus, & by the world of Marcus, that if it were not giuen that day, at night they would sack Rome. After that Seuerus heard, that his armie was in readinesse in the field of Mars, and without his commaundement, he was not a litle escandalized, thinking there had bene some treason against him amongst the people: but the truth being knowen, he requested them to be pacified, and to disarm themselves, saying: that it proceeded not of wise Captaines, but of seditious persons, to demaund with threatenings, that which would be giuen by request. Seuerus saw himselfe in great trauell, to finish agreement betwixt the one & the other: but in the end giuing them some monie out of his owne coffers, and some from the common wealth, he brought them all to a vnitie: which was, vnto the Captaines was giuen lesse then they demaunded, and the Romanes paid somewhat more then they offered. Wherefore all things, Seuerus did celebrate the obsequies of Pertinax: whereat all the Romanes were present, and offered that day vnto the Gods great sacrifices, accomping Pertinax

Pertinax amongst the Gods, and placing Priestes to do sacrifices vpon the sepulchre, that for evermore should susteine his memorie. When Seuerus entred the Empire, he found many rents of the treasure mortgaged, which is to wete, the royall patrimonie, wherein he gaue order for the redæming thereof, to be reduced vnto the royall crowne. Seuerus had two daughters of ripe age, the one of xxv. the other of xxx. yeres, whome he married within twentie dayes after he came to Rome, the one with Prolus, and the other with Laertius, men of greate wealth and riches, and generous in bloud. Seuerus offered his sonne Prolus the office of Censor, which he refused, saying, that he fought not to be sonne in lawe vnto the Emperour, to be a scourge of euill men: but to be serued of good men. Seuerus made bothe his sonnes in lawe Consuls, and about Rome he bought them great rentes, and also gaue them large summes of money to spend, and to his daughters he gaue Jewels, wherewith to honour them.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe the Emperour Seuerus passed into Asia against capteine Pessenius that rebelled against him.

Of the famous capteines that rebelled against the Emperour Iulianus, as hath bene recounted in his life, was Pessenius Niger, who with the armies that were in Assyria, did gouerne and rule all Asia. Seuerus rose in Germanie, and Pessenius in Asia: and notwithstanding they were both traitours vnto their Lord, the difference betwixt them was, that Seuerus for his comming vnto Rome, they aduanced vnto the Empire: and Pessenius for remaining at his ease in Asia, was condemned for a traitour. At the houre that Iulianus his death was published, presently Pessenius inuested him selfe with the

S. v.

title

title of Emperour and Augustus: in such wise, that Seuerus in Europa, and Pessenius in Asia, had diuided betwixt them selues all countries and prouinces: and much moze the one from the other had diuided their willes & mindes. Pessenius was very wel aduertised in Asia, howe Seuerus had entred Rome with a great power: and was in state of gouernement as naturall Emperour of the common wealth: but neither for letters that were witten vnto him, or for any thing that might be saide vnto him, would he obey Seuerus, or muche lesse shewe any feare of him. Pessenius was grosse of person, valiant, warlike, and of all men, with whome he dealt, very well liked: and surely, if he lost the Empire, it was not for want of friends in Rome, but that he abounded with vices in Asia. After that Seuerus sawe, that neither for thzearninges, either for promises that he made, or for letters that he wrote, he might not dzawe Pessenius Niger vnto his seruice, he determined to conquer him as an enimie: although (as he afterwarde saide) he wished not with him to come in contention: because Pessenius was a friende in earnest, and no enimie in iest.

Seuerus commaunded a muster to be taken of all the men he had, and tooke the names of all persons that he might haue with him out of Italie, commaundinge them to prepare, and to pay his officers, & that all thinges should be done with moste speedie diligence: for his intent was to enter with so greate haste into Asia, that his arriual, and the newes thereof, at one instant, might appeare vnto Pessenius.

All the armies of Illyria which he had left in Thracia, he commaunded to passe into Asia: and all the Senators, all the warrelike officers of Rome, all the riche men, and all the sonnes of mightie and greate Lordes that were in Italie, he ledde with him in that warre.

He armed in the Sea Mediterrane an hundred galleys, and also rigged forth two hundred shippes, fiftie barkes, and innumerable forrestes: all which went laden with men,

men, armour, and victuals: in such wise, that in respecte of his greatnesse and potencie, there was none that would encounter with him by lande, either abide at the Sea.

Onelie xxx. dayes Seuerus was in Rome, dispatchinge with the Senate, he departed vnto the porte of Hostia, to beholde his nauie, and from thence he departed to Nola in Campania, where his armie was assembled, where he added many thinges that wanted, and also removed many thinges that were superfluous: because in thinges of greate importance, he was not satisfied to giue them in charge to men of experience: but that he would see and beholde them with his owne proper eyes. When Pessenius Niger heard the newes, howe Seuerus came against him by sea and lande: they say that he saide, these wordes: If the destinies be bente against me, small may it auaille me, that men fauour mee: and if Gods be pleased to help me me may little hinder me. And further he saide: Seuerus is not satisfied to haue slaine his Lorde Iulianus, and to vsurpe the Empire, but hath made mee an enimie vnto the people of Rome: but I beseeche the immortal Gods, that if it shal not please them to giue me victorie in this warre, that Seuerus may be conquered, when hee moste desireth to overcome. Although Pessenius commended his fortune into the handes of God, not withstanding he left not to seeke the aide of men: & to this ende he did write and send Ambassadors, vnto the kinge of the Parthians, to the king of the Arthabanes, and to the king of the Armenians to succour him with men & money, because Seuerus came with a determinate minde to destroy them all.

The kinge of the Armenians answered the Ambassadors of Pessenius Niger, that he would neither helpe the one, or offende the other, but defende and conserue his owne kingdome: moued therevnto, for that Pessenius was his friende, and Seuerus not his enimie.

The kinge of Parthians, presently sente his letters through

throughout his kingdome, commaunding them to repaire vnto Pessenius, and refuse Seuerus: which he did not for the narrowe friendship that he helde with Pessenius, but for the auncient enimitie that he did beare vnto the Romane Empire. The king of Arthabanes sent vnto Pessenius, ten thousand archers with crossebowes, all natives of the prouinces of Bersezana, which throughout the world were much renowned, and in the warres no lesse feared, because they were of valiant mindes in fight, and exceeding readie in shooting. Further, Pessenius Nigge commanded his armie to be renewed with twentie thousand footemen, and sixe thousand horsemen, whereof the moste parte being taken out of Antioche (where the people be most feeble) their names being registred, and receiuing paye, neuer afterwarde came to the warres. Vnto all them that vsed this guyle, Seuerus afterwarde gaue great punishment: not for that they had bene traytours vnto Pessenius, but for example to terrifie others. Vpon the mount Taurus parte of Cappadocia and Sicyl, Pessenius, as a man of experience in martiall affaires, prouided that the woodes were feld vpon the toppes of mounteines, and in streightes, and most perillous places made strong watche and warde, in such wise, that no enimie might approche, that was not seene: or passe, that were not slaine. In those dayes, there was not in all Thracia a citie more opulent then was Byzantio, nowe named Constantinople, which in buildinges did exceede all cities of Asia, and in fertilitie was equall with the best in Europa. Amongest other things contained therein that was faire to beholde, and much to be praised, were the walles, the stones whereof were brought from Mylesius, curiously squared, as if it had bene timber sauen with a sawe: which was the cause that the wall being made of many stones, the whole wall seemed but one stone. Although with the calamities of time, the walles be nowe ruined: yet notwithstanding, of the same there remaineth some streppes and signes: in the viciue whereof there is none

none but will praise the witt of them that made it: & curse the handes of them that did subuert it. When Pessenius saue him selfe a Lozde so absolute of all Asia, and accompanied with so many & so noble men of warre, he thought him selfe sure of the victorie: but as in such cases, that which Fortune guydeth, is farre differēt from that which the person desireth: so, very contrary to his former purpose it afterwarde succeeded.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of the warres that passed betwixt Pessenius and Seuerus in Asia.

IT was great grieve vnto Seuerus, when he vnderstode howe Pessenius was in so greate redinesse, that thought not onely to defende, but publicquely to offende. Seuerus being certified that Pessenius was in possession of y^e greate citie Byzantio, marched with more speed, with intent to batter the same, before Pessenius might come to the succour thereof: for that by secreete practises, Seuerus had within the citie newe friendes: and Pessenius in gouernement had recouered some enimies. Neither the intelligences which Seuerus practised secretely, either the diligences whiche he vsed publicquely, might profite him to obtaine Byzantio: which when he vnderstode, he traueled to recouer another citie not farre from thence, named Cyzica: which was both rockie and compassed with marishes, that is to saye, it stode vpon a rocke, & inuironed with a riuer. Pessenius had for his capteine generall of all his hostes, a certeine knight named Emilianus, in whome he reposed confidence, not onely for matters of warre, but also for expedition of causes of peace, for that he had bothe wisdom for the one, and fortitude for the other. The capteine Emilianus put him selfe into the citie of Cyzica, whē presently after, the souldiours of Seuerus came to besiege it. There was betwixt both the armies at diuers times, diuers

diuers encounters, & repulses, wherein Fortune indifferently discovered her selfe vnto either partie: for at all times, when they fought at the wall, Seuerus side had the worse: but when they fought in the field, Pessenius bandes had the repulse. Two monethes after the citie of Cizica was besieged, they made a falle, and as they would haue retyzed, Seuerus capteines pursued and entred pelle melle with the capteines of Pessenius: and notwithstanding there was betwixt them greateslaughter for the recouering of a gate, and to fortifie a certeine place: in the ende Pessenius lost the citie, and Seuerus obtained the victorie. Pessenius greatly complained, and so was it buzzed amongst the people, which is to woe, that the capteine Emilianus had secreete partise with Seuerus: for, considering the stately walles wherewith the citie Cizica was compassed, and the valiant people wherewith it was defended: all men iudged it impossible to take it, and folliue to besiege it. The cause that moued the capteine Emilianus to do this vntoworthie deede, was: that his sonnes, who were left at Rome, Seuerus brought with him into that warre, vnder great garde: and it is to be thought, that to giue libertie vnto his sonnes which he had ingendred, he made a breach of his fidelitie and othe which he had sworne. The Emperour Commodus, as he was suspicious of them, with whome he had to deale: and so euil wished of all such as did serue him: so it was his fashion, for the most parte, when he sent any noble Roman to gouerne any prouince, presently to place their sonnes in a fort: and this he did, to the end their fathers should not be traitours, respectinge their children that were kept vnder ward. From the time that Commodus reigned in Rome, Emilianus gouerned the prouinces in Asia: by which cause Seuerus recovered the children, & Pessenius lost the father. The same being divulgate throughout all Asia, that the citie Cizica was sacked, & that Seuerus kept the field with victorie: all Pessenius knights that scaped from thence, & all other their companions that heard thereof, gaue them selues to flight: to

to take places of fortification: wherein to hide their persons. Seuerus not onely recovered honour & profite of this victorie, but also planted both feare & discorde almoste throughout all Grecia: for some rebelled against Pessenius, and others did obey Seuerus. Although the people of Grecia haue ablenesse to learne science, they are no lesse mutable in martiall affaires: for in warres which they prosecute, they follow not the Prince that hath most iustice, but him that most is fauoured of Fortune. The citizens of Bithynia sent Ambassadors vnto Seuerus, saying, that they & their children were at his commaundement: and on the other side, the people of Nicena gaue Pessenius to vnderstand, that if he sent his armie thither, they would not only receiue them, but also mainteine them: which offers they presented not vnto these two Roman princes, for loue or friendship that they did beare them: but for the ancient enimitie which they had betwixt them selues. Seuerus to his armie entring Bithynia, and Pessenius into Nicena, from thence, as from two fortes, they did issue to fight: & in the end betwixt the two armies vpon a certeine day, they trauesed so fierce a skirmishe, that in blood & slaughter it was no lesse then a battell: where the field remained vnto Seuerus, & Pessenius bands were put to flight. Pessenius neither for the losse of the citie Cizica, neither for that he was beaten out of the field at Bithynia, did shewe either feare or weakenesse: but diuiding his armie that remained in two partes, he sent the one to mount Taurus to defend that passage from Seuerus, & the other parte he ledde with him selfe vnto Antioche, partly to take money out of his treasurie, & partly to renue, as also relieue his armie. Seuerus marched to his armie from Bithynia vnto Galatia, & from Galatia vnto Cappadocia, which stood in defence on the behalf of Pessenius, where Seuerus souldiours to great furie did assault the same: in which iourney the Seuerians receiued no small losse, because the citie was situate vpon the side of an hill, from whence to execute slaughter amongst their enemies, they needed no other defence, but to whirle stones.

The affaires standing in this estate, there chaunced two cities of Phoenicia to reuolt from Pessenius, and to yelde them selues vnto Seuerus, that is to saye, Laodycia and Tyrus: of which newes Pessenius tooke greate grieve, and no small hatred, which passions conceiued against those cities, he not onely vttered in the foule wordes which he sent to be saide vnto them: but also in the cruel acts which he commaunded to be done vnto them. Pessenius had in his armie fiftene thousand archers, which were called Mauri, people that naturallly of their owne inclination were giuen to bloud, and without afear of death: these, Pessenius commaunded to go vnto Laodycia and Tyrus, vtterly to burne and consume both citie and people: with a warning confirmed by an othe, that if they tooke any prisoners to giue any man life, the person that vsed that pitie should be slaine. These fiftene thousand archers named Mauri departed vnto Laodycia and Tyrus, and manie other that ioyned with them: & as they tooke them at the soudeine being vnprouided, and hauing no time to demaund succour of Seuerus: so cruell and inhumane was that barbarous people, to those so generous and noble cities, that they left not vpon the walles one stone vpon another, either house that they subuerted not, either the head of man woman or childe that they did not cutt off. When these matters passed in Assyria, the knightes of Seuerus were in Cappadocia, traueiling greatly to possesse the mount Taurus: but as it was naturallly of great height, and rockie, & Pessenius possessing all the passages, so they might not by any meane assaile them, or conceiue hope of any profitable or honourable attempt. Vpon the top of this mount Taurus, Pessenius his people had brought an huge number of great stones and rockes, to throwe down vpon Seuerus souldiours, if they should attempt to climbe the hill: but as on the side of the mountaine, there grew many trees, both high and great, which Seuerus souldiers cut downe in great heapes & multitudes to lay the stones before they tumbled vpon men, that might be throwne downe

In hauing redy captaines to fight, and skilfull to defende none of the armies had cause to complaine, either of their enimies to haue enuie, except that Pessenius was more vertuous, and Seuerus more venturous,

CHAP. VIII.

Of a cruell and furious battell, betwixt Pessenius and Seuerus, wherein Pessenius was slaine.

In certaine broken, woene, and hollowe places, as in suche groundes the waters do vse to make, Pessenius souldiers had fortified wth stones & boughes, whiche serued them to blinde and stoppe the waye for passage, as also from thence both to defende and offend their enimies. Neither for trauell to climbe the hill, either for feare of death, did Seuerus his captaines crosse any houre to attempt the recouering of the mount: but the wayes and passages were so narrowe, and the mountaines so rockie & inaccessible, that tenne defended an hundred, an hundred a thousand: & a thousand tenne thousand. The case was thus, that the Seuerian armies more daunted with despair, the aduanced with hope, suddenly on a night there fel vpon those mountaines an exceeding great snow, where vpon Pessenius souldiours retired from their rampiers, and fortified rockes: and that whiche was worse, many persons and beastes were there daungered & also lost, and their victuals all caste and carried away. By time that shoulde do the dedde, and the sorrowfull destinies of Pessenius that shoulde conduct the same: it chaunced vpon the thirde day after the snowe had fallen, the sunne did shine with as hote a glome as in y^e heate of summer, where with all the snowe being throughtly thawed, the violence of most furious waters that descended the hill, ouerthrowe and carried away all bulwokes and rampiers that Pessenius had made in that mountaine: in such wise, that nature

ture framed in one houre y^e Art. might not bying to passe in many dayes: that is to say, the snowe drave alway the people, and soone opened the way. When the Seuerian armies founde, that Pessenius souldiours had forsaken the mounte Taurus, and y^e thawed snowe had opened their way: they not onely recouered greate courage, but also presumed to haue obtained diuine fauour: saying, that Seuerus did gouerne them, but that the Godds did guide them. Upon the fift day after the snowe, Seuerus souldiours mounted vpon y^e toppe of Taurus, & al the snowe being thawed and gonne, and trackes and wayes beeing dried vp, in euery place they founde deade men, drowned beastes, broken armour, and victuals scattered: in the viewe whereof they tooke no small pleasure, because they had nowe set their feete, where before they imploied but their eyes. Pessenius being aduertised, howe his souldiours had forsaken the mounte Taurus, departed with all his hoste from Antioche, & toke the way vnto Sicyl: the multitude of people that hee ledde with him was marvellous and terrible to beholde: and yet truely notwithstanding, more fearefull in viewe, then in fight: for admitting they were many, & younge men well armed, yet they were more accustomed to haue peace with vices, then warr wth enemies. Seuerus wth his armies, & Pessenius wth his hostes incountred in Sicyl, not a league one from an other, hauing betwixt them a greate plaine which was named by the men of the country, the field of Ylico, where was giuen the laste and most famous battell betwixt Alexander and Darius, in which the great king Darius was ouercome, and the great Alexander remained monarche of y^e world. In memory of which notable battell, there is situated at these dayes, the renowned cite of Alexandria, wherein there is a picture of brasse, so naturall a counterfeite of Alexander, that to beholde doth partly terrifie, and also giueth motion of great reuerence. Two dayes after these princes came to this place, with conformitie they determined to giue the battell, since either of the had ioyned their whole

whole powers, with the presence of their proper persones: vntill which time, betwixt them there was but small difference, for that either of them had greate hope to haue the victorie. The night before they fought, Seuerus & Pessenius were both sadde, and their armies in greate watch: for as the fatall houre of fight drew neare (although their generous hartes gaue them hope to overcome) their mortal bodies did feare to die. At the breake of y^e day al the captaines made ready to y^e battell: continually two houres before the charge, both of the one parte and the other, they played vpon instrumetes of musick, which wth their melody did yealde such dolefulnesse, that exactly it discovered the sorrowfull successe that shoulde followe in that cruell battell. The hostes being ioyned the one wth the other, there was trauesed betwixt the so cruel a fight, & of euery parte so traueled to obtaine the victory, y^e the day ended, & y^e battell not finished. That battell was so bloutie, wounded, & of both partes so much contended, y^e within the compasse of two leagues, there was not iii. foote of ground, y^e was not couered wth mans bloude. If the two armies were valiant in fighting, surely y^e two princes, their lordes, were no cowardes: but in the ende, when night was come, the Pessenians turned their backs: & the whole conclusion was, that Pessenius fledde wounded, and Seuerus remained lord of y^e field. Upon an horse of greate swiftnesse, & accompanied wth fewe persons, Pessenius toke the way vnto Antioche: as the enemies did pursue him, at the doore of a poore cottage where he neither had time to rest, either place to hide himselfe, but groueling vpon his breastes, drinke with a pitcher, at a blowe his enemies cutte off his head. This was the sorrowfull end of Pessenius Niger, vpon whose sepulture they placed this Epitaph: Here lieth Pessenius Niger, an auncient Romane, whiche in merite was equall with the vertuous: but in misfortunes exceeded the most vnfortunate.

When Seuerus sawe him selfe aduanced to so great victorie, and that in all Asia, there was not one launce

in the West against him, he procured to seaze vpon al principall persons, that had escaped from the campe of Pessenius; and commaunded not onely to kill them all, but also to execute them with greate tormentes. Many were founde in the campe of Pessenius, whiche did followe him against their willes, whome also Seuerus commaunded to be slaine as the rest: whiche in deede was rather the acte of a cruell tyrante, then a vertuous pynce. Seuerus had with him the mother and the sonnes of Pessenius, whome he sente (both mother and sonnes) banished vnto an Islande.

All thinges set in order, that were conueniente for the prouision of the good gouernement of Asia, Seuerus moued talke amongst his moste familiar friends, for the conquest of the kinge of Parthia, and the kinge of Thebes: not because they helde him as an enimie, but for that they were friendes vnto his enimie Pessenius. Seuerus friendes did counsell him, that by no meanes he shoulde publish any intente of warre againste the kinge of Parthians, or the kinge of Thebanes: for y^e notwithstanding Pessenius was dead in the East, Albinus was aliue in the kingdomes of the Weste: and that hee was not so sure of the Empire, but y^e it were better counsell for him to seeke newe friends, then to awake olde enimies. Seuerus dealt cruelly with the inhabitants of Antioche, because they had receiued and obeyed his enimie Pessenius, and with them did not onely vse iniurious wordes, but also did discharge them of al their auncient liberties. He slewe all the Senatours of Rome, that is to say, suche as folowed Pessenius and tooke the name of captaines and Tribunes: & of other persones he slewe but one, and woulde neuer say, wherfoze but he alone, and none other was put to death.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Consul Albinus, and howe he rebelled against Seuerus being in Englande.

Amongest the moste extreme young gentlemen, that were bred in the house of the good Marcus Aurelius, were thre, whiche in those dayes were placed for captaines in the most famous and dangerous places of the empire, that is to say, Seuerus in Illyria, Pessenius in Asia, & Albinus in greate Britaine. Their Lorde Marcus Aurelius had brought them vp so expert in science, so accustomed to vertues, so readie in armes, so skilfull in perills, and so made vnto trauels, that if they them selues, had not warred & destroyed them selues, al the world had not bene sufficient to haue defeated the. Aboue, it is said, how Seuerus came to Rome to take the Empire, and howe Pessenius was ouercome in Asia: there resteth nowe to speake of Albinus, who was in Britaine: a man in his life righte venturous, and in his deathe no lesse vnforsunate. Albinus was natiue of Rome, and as soone as he was of age sufficient, he was made a Senatour, being of most auncient linage, and did inherite of his predecessours, greate wealth, whiche he wanted no skill to conserue, as also to increase, and excellently to inioy: for, notwithstanding his degree was but a Senatour: yet in seruice of his house, and behauiour of his person, he was after y^e manner of an Emperour. In the dayes of the empire of Pertinax, Albinus was sente as captaine and gouernour vnto greate Britaine: in whiche gouernement hee was very well loued, and no lesse feared: for by his greate iustice he was feared and with his greate liberalitie he was beloued. When Seuerus departed vnto Asia, to warre with Pessenius, vnderstandinge how renowned the name of Albinus was throughtout all the world, and howe well liked of the Romaine Empire: hee greatly doubted to aduaunce him selfe with the Romaine Empire: and the rather, for that he perceiued the principall Romanes, to fixe their eyes vpon Albinus. Seuerus aduised him selfe to vse a certaine cautele with Albinus, whiche was: befoze he departed fro Rome, to write vnto him into Britaine, aduertising him, that he would

haue his fellowship in the Empire, from thence forth titling him Augustus: & since his departing to y^e warres of Asia, requesting him to take the charge of the gouernement of the common wealth. With these and suche like wordes whiche hee sente him, and with a letter witten vnto him, and certaine iuells whiche hee gaue him, Albinus did endure to be deceiued, though void of all mistrust to be deceiued.

Albinus had with him an auncient knight named Cypro Albo, who (as it is reported) saide vnto Albinus: thou art not so neare a kinsman, either so deare a friende vnto Seuerus, that without thy request, hee will with thee diuide the Empire: for that truely, euen betwixt the father and the sonne, it were verie muche: but that I thinke hee will nowe be assured of thee, to the ende when hee returneth from the warres to destroy thee: because from a man so noble as Seuerus is, so amorous letters, and iuells so precious, may not proceede, but wrapt in malice. Albinus woulde giue no credit vnto Cypro Albo, but openly did reade his letters, and shewed his iuells: whiche when Seuerus vnderstode, hee receiued greate pleasure thereof: and the better to finish his guile, hee made money in both their names, placing Albinus his picture in the Senate. The minde of Albinus being wome and obtained, to the ende to holde safe and sure the kingdomes of Europa, hee departed into Asia: and sundry times did write vnto Albinus, and not vnto the Senate: giuing accompt of y^e whiche hee had donne, and demaunding counsell in that whiche hee mente to do.

Fifteene monethes Seuerus stayed in the warres with Pellenius: whome, after hee had overcome and slaine, he determined to destroy Albinus: and because hee had no occasion, either greate or small to make him publike warre, hee aduised to kill him by guile. Many Senators and noble Romanes did write him letters, and also perswaded Albinus in wordes, that hee shoulde ad-

uaunce him selfe with the Empire: and to the same ende, they did sweare and affirme vnto him, that although Seuerus were farre from his countrie, yet without comparison, hee was muche moze distant from their willes. The case was thus, the warres of Asia being finished, Seuerus in greate secrecie conferred with certaine Pursuantes by whome hee was accustomed to write letters: whome he commaunded to departe vnto greate Britaine, and to presente their letters openly vnto Albinus: and further, to giue him to vnderstande, howe they had secretly to say vnto him: and that: if with them hee shoulde separte him selfe, presently to kill him: promising them, that if they perfourmed that enterprise, hee shoulde make them the greatest men of Rome. Hee gaue them also a boxe of fine payson, & therewith this instruction, that if they might not by chaunce dispatch & kill Albinus, by such meane: they shoulde trauell in some meate to giue him of that payson.

Albinus was grol vnto somewhat suspicious of Seuerus, partely for that so rarely hee did write vnto him, and also because hee was aduertised, that in secrecie hee vsed euill speech of him: wherefore he liued moze warily, not onely with suche as hee had talke, but also of his meate whiche hee shoulde eate. These Pursuantes being arrived in greate Britaine, deliuered their letters openly vnto Albinus, saying, that they had to tell him in secret, and being nowe in doubt and suspicion of Seuerus his matters, he commaunded these Pursuantes to be taken, and grienously tormented: which presently confessed, that Seuerus sente them, for none other purpose, but either with payson or with payson to take away the life of Albinus.

Presently Seuerus was aduertised, y^e Albinus had taken, tormented, and put to death his Pursuantes: where vpon followed, that the one did publishe the other open enmities: and for such they exclaymed them selues in wordes, deied in letters, and also vttered in wordes.

Seuerus had greate sorrowe, for that Albinus had manifested him selfe his enimie: and the greater was his griefe, for that his enimies made common reporte, that he would haue slaine Albinus as a coward, and not deale with him openly as a man of a valiant minde. Seuerus also had greate griefe, of the generall reporte of Albinus boaste, before all men that woulde heare the same: of the greate numbers of people and armies of men that did obey him in greate Britaine: and muche moze, that did loue and wish him in Rome. Seuerus not able to endure with patience, the reports that ranne of Albinus, aduised to assemble his armies, vnto whome hee did speake after this manner.

CHAP. X.

Of a famous speech that Seuerus vttered vnto his armies, to bringe them in hatred with his vnkinde Albinus.

IT were not iuste, that any prince shoulde be noted vnstable, if by chaunce they be seene to abhorre at one time, that which they did loue at an other time: for that subiects changing their custōes, it is not much that Lordes alter their opinions. As much as a friend shalbe vertuous, so much and no more, he shall be loued of his friendes: for if it be a thing commendable to loue the good, it is no lesse vituperable to loue the euill. Admitting that princes deale hardly with some, and fauour others, neither for the one are they to be praised, either blamed for the other: because rewarde, or punishment, is neither giuen or ought to be giuen conformable vnto princes wills: but agreeable vnto the subiects merite. Ye all vnderstand, how Albinus

Albinus and I, being young men, were bred in the house of the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius: and truly, vnto this day, I haue intreated him, not as a companion, but as a brother: which seemeth no lesse true, for that I parted with him the Empire, which seldom is diuided betwixt the father and the sonne. I did not onely deale with him as with a brother, and with him did parte the Empire: but also at my iourney vnto the warres of Asia, vnto him onely I recommended the gouernement of the common wealth: respecting the possession which I had of him, and the confidence which I committed vnto him, when I did trust him with the cōmō wealth: I would haue parted my soule with him, if it had bene partible. Being (as I was) wounded in the warres of Asia, and he placed in the gouernement of great Britaine: notwithstanding the distance that was betwixt them, there passed fewe monethes wherein I did not write vnto him, giuing large accōpt of that which was done, and hiding nothing of all that I determined to do: In suche wise, that in him was registred al my triumphs, and he was the hoorde of al my profound secreats. Betwixt me & Albinus, there was neuer any thing y was not common, in my house there was neuer doore shut against him, the letters which he wrote I did with greate ioy reade, that which he requested me I alwayes perfourmed, whereof he warned me I euer corrected: finally, he neuer desired any thing of me, that he obtayned not: and neuer had trauell, but I was present, and prest to succour him. After all these things, his sorrowfull destinies woulde, and no lesse hath my fortune without al felicitie perfourmed, that our friendship is turned to enimitie, our felicitie vnto treason, our benefits

to ingratitude, our loue vnto hatred, our communi-
on to diuorce, our confidence to suspition, in such
wise, that at this day there is nothing spoken more
commonly throughout the Romane Empire, but of
the greate friendship whiche wee haue had, and the
cruell enimitie whiche nowe we haue. That Albi-
nus desireth to be Lorde, and procureth to be Empe-
rour, I neither wonder, either is it to be marueled: but
that which maketh me amased, is, that I placing him
with confidence in gouernement of the common
wealth, he shuld procure to rise or rebell with Rome:
that speaking according to the lawe of a good man, y
if Albinus had thought to attempte so foule a dede, if
I had requested him to take the charge, he ought
not to haue cōsented: for there is not the like traitour
in this world, as he to whom I cōmitted my house, to
robbe me of mine honour, and spoile mee of my
goods. A greater faulte in lesse magistrates hath Albi-
nus committed thē Pessenius Niger: for that Pessenius
from the time that I was elected Emperour, pre-
sently manifested him selfe mine enimie: & more, y
I neuer helde him as my friende, either did he accepte
me as his Lord: and to say that which I had thought
neuer to haue saide, Pessenius Niger did write vnto
vs, that if wee would 'perpetuate the principallitie of
Asia vnto him, he woulde vtterly yealde vnto vs all
obedience: and for that we would not graunt it him,
speaking without passion, although he had no reason
to rebell, he had occasion to be offended. The matter
hath not so passed betwixt Albinus and me, but that
without his owne sute, or any other mannes for him,
besides the gouernement of Britaine, I gaue him the
principalitie of al Europe, sent him the ensigne of the
Empire

Empire, commaunded him by proclamation to be
intituled Augustus. & y which is not smally to be es-
timated, I caused with his image & mine, money to be
grauen, and with mine owne proper handes I placed
his statuie or picture in the Senate. In repaimente of
these so notable benefites, he hath committed an hun-
dredth thousand insolences, namely, hee hath muti-
ned the armies, altered and offended the people, rob-
bed our treasures, taken our castels, escandalized me
with the Romanes, and nowe of late hath slaine my
Purseuants: and that whiche grieueth me moste, is,
that he made them say in their tormentes, that which
neuer was in my thought. I hauing slaine the prince
Pessenius, and beeing (as I was) triumphant of the
felde, no man hath to beleue that I haue so small es-
timation of my honour, that he beeing my detected
enimie, shoulde be slaine in secrete at my commaun-
dement.

In what heart may it be conceiued, that I hauinge
(as I haue) armies of so greate power and dexteritie,
here in my presence, shoulde procure to kill him with
poyson. For to haue slaine Albinus by treason, it
had beene blame to me, and shame vnto you, but to
him glory: for as his name is renowned, and his
fame spread throughout the Empire, his person to
haue beene so inuincible, that wee durst not giue him
battell as an enimie, but murder him as tray-
tours.

The Godds neuer consent, neither my venturous
destinies permit, that the slaunderous renowne of a
traytour, whiche hee hath recouered with his e-
uill life, shoulde cleaue vnto mee by his secrete
death: for that (to conclude) I had rather
holde

holde him as an enimie all the dayes of my life, then to fixe any scruple in my fame. Albinus did sweare by the simulachre of Diana, not once, but thrice: not with one hande, but with both handes: not in one temple, but in many: for euer more to holde the gods in greate veneration, the people in iustice, the temples in reuerence, and to me obedience: all which the persiured Albinus hath broken, and neither hath feare or shame for that which he hath done: but I hope in the Gods, it shal not come to passe as he thinketh, that is, to die with poyson: but the time shall come, that hee shall pay in the fiede, that which he hath sworne in y temple. If this infamous deede had bene done against any particular person, they should both heare and see throughout the world, the amends that I would take thereof: but in as much as it toucheth none but my selfe, who at this present am had in suspicion, Albinus being held as innocente, it sufficeth that it is not in me, but to aduertise you thereof: and to you it appertaineth to reuenge the same. In y warres against Pessenius Niger, ye folowed me: in this against Albinus, I will folow you: and I hope in the immortall Gods, that they wil giue you the victorie: and in my behalfe on Albinus wil take vengeance.

CHAP. XI.

Howe Seuerus departed from Asia to Fraunce,
and fought with Albinus and
slewe him.

At

At the instante that Seuerus had finished his speech, all the army exclaiming with lowde voyces, againe confirming Seuerus in the Empire, manifested Albinus an enimie vnto the Romaine Empire. And for as much as none that was present, vnderstoode the treason that Seuerus had attempted against Albinus, they gaue him credite in all that he saide: & so in generall they conceived as greate hatred against the one, as loue vnto the other: proceeding no lesse by the presence of Seuerus, then by the absence of Albinus: for (according to the olde prouerbe) the absent is neuer without blame, nor the present without excuse. When Seuerus sawe that he had wounde y hearts of his armie, hee recovered newe hope to be reuenged of Albinus: and to the purpose he made a generall muster of his men of warre, and founde tenne thousande horsemen, and xl. thousand fote men: all whiche he presently payde, not onely that whiche he did owe them: but also gaue them many and greate rewardes, adding there vnto many faire promises. The first iourney that Seuerus made, was to besiege Bizantio (for thither the captaines repaired that had escaped the mortall battaile of Pessenius Niger) and in the ende took it, not by force, but by hunger: and hauing the citie vnder his power, he displaced the bulwarkes, made plaine the towers, ouerthelpe the Wheaters, subuerted their bathes, burnt their houses, strangled the straungers, & the natives he did captiuate: finally, he behaued him selfe not as a Romaine prince, but as a moste cruel tyrant.

With the riches that hee recovered in Bizantio, and the aboundance whiche he robbed in other partes, he commaunded the cities to be repaired, that Pessenius soldiers had sackt: and charged the fortes to be erected that they had throwne downe: and leauing officers necessarie for gouernement, and men of warre to defende those countries, he departed with greate celeritie vnto greate Britaine, with a determined intente to make furious warres against Albinus.

His

„ His desire was so disordinate to encounter with Albinus,
 „ that he traueled night and day, thicke and thinne, foule
 „ and faire: and that wherefoze they most blamed him, was,
 „ that he neither obserued the solenne festiuall dayes, or
 „ had compassion of the tyred. Traueling on those wayes
 „ when it snowed, manie times hee was bare headed: and
 „ in the mire, hee woulde trauell one foote: when it rained,
 „ hee woulde marche in his doublet and hose: and wanting
 „ victualles, he woulde eate bareley bread: and (as he after
 „ reported) to be reuenged of his enimie, he thought it all
 „ well employed. Hee sent befoze him valiant captaines, and
 „ men very light & of greafe swiftnesse, to cleare the wayes
 „ vpon the highte of the mountaines, and to defende the most
 „ perilous places: chiefly when he passed the Alpes of Italie,
 „ doubting that Albinus might haue in that place some
 „ hidden ammishe. Nowe, when Seuerus sawe him selfe
 „ and all his armie in Gallia Transalpina, and that in so
 „ longe a tyme hee had incountered with no stumbling
 „ blocke: until that tyme he went with hope, from thence
 „ forth he marched in certentie to obtaine victorie: for
 „ the feare whiche he had, was, that his armie traueling
 „ both weary and spent, Albinus at the souden might dis-
 „ couer to giue him battell. In al this time Albinus remai-
 „ ned in the Isle of Britane, which now is Englande: but
 „ presently after hee vnderstode that Seuerus had pas-
 „ sed the Alpes, he brought forth all his armie out of the Isle,
 „ sente them into Fraunce, rather to defende the frontiers,
 „ then without any commaundement to make warre: be-
 „ cause Seuerus was so souden in his arriual, & he was then
 „ in Fraunce, whē they believed him not to be departed from
 „ Italie. With great speede Albinus did write vnto the ci-
 „ ties adioyning, requesting their helpe for money, and com-
 „ maunding them to be stronge and valiant in his seruice, of
 „ whom manie disobeyed, and other rebelled against him:
 „ notwithstanding, they all confessed, that they rather did
 „ it for feare of the potencie of Seuerus, then for the hatred
 „ whiche they did beare vnto Albinus. But in the ende,
 the

„ the two armies beeing ioyned, and all the cities diuided
 „ into parcialities, euery day betwixt them there was in-
 „ counters, and daily meetings to skirmishe: and for the
 „ moste parte, the souldiours of Seuerus departed with
 „ broken heades, and Albinus his bandes returned victo-
 „ rious.

„ They trauesed on a certaine day so furious a skirmish,
 „ that it was necessarie Seuerus shoulde come forth armed
 „ vnto the same: and as hee was not able to make his sould-
 „ iours to retire, neither constrain his enimies to flie,
 „ thinking to enter to haue parted the fray, hee was byged
 „ to fight in his owne person: in whiche fight he receiued so
 „ greafe a blowe with a plummett of leade, that hee was
 „ feld downe to the grotinde, and lay for deade so longe
 „ space, that many did kisse the handes of his sonne Geta, as
 „ Emperour. After Seuerus had escaped that danger,
 „ and was cured of his wounde, in greafe secrecie he called
 „ into his presence certaine Sorcerers and Inchanters that
 „ hee brought with him, both requesting, threatening, and
 „ promising them manie thinges, if they woulde tell him
 „ the ende of those warres: for if hee shoulde be conque-
 „ rour, hee woulde prosecute the same: and if hee shoulde
 „ be overcome, he woulde returne into Italie. The Sor-
 „ cerers and Inchanters answered, that his armie shoulde
 „ receiue greafe hurte, but in the ende his enimie Albinus
 „ shoulde be overcome: and that hee shoulde not obtaine in
 „ this case, that which he desired, that is to say, to kill Albi-
 „ nus with his owne handes: but that hee shoulde see him
 „ deade befoze his eyes. The tenth of March, Seuerus recei-
 „ ued this answer of his Inchanters, and presently on the
 „ next day, he tooke muster of all his men, commaunding
 „ them to chooe their horse, and amend their armour: and
 „ the third day hee gaue battell vnto Albinus, neare to a
 „ citie named Lugduno, whiche now in Fraunce is cal-
 „ led Lions Sonarona, whiche on bothe sides was so ex-
 „ tremely contended, that a greafe parte of the day it might
 „ not be knowne, vnto whom the victorie woulde incline.
 When

When al the day was passed, and darke within night, the one army fighting with the other, in the ende Albinus was overcome. This battaile was so bloudie, that of so greate a number of people, as both the hostes did containe, there escaped not a man, that was not slaine in the fiede, or returned vnto his tente vnwounded. Albinus remained to keepe the citie, and sent his captiues to giue battaile, who beeing beaten out of the fiede, the Seuerians entred into the citie, spoyling goodes, burning houses, and slaying people. Seuerus had a captaine named Letus, whiche was the cause of the conquest of that battell: for Seuerus his souldiours beeing in a manner overcome, and Seuerus ready and prest to flie, he relieved the battell with a fresh bande of souldiours: Letus of skill and industrie would not fight that day, vntil he sawe Seuerus fledde, and also fall from his horse: thinking, that if Seuerus shoulde die or be slaine, and hee overcomminge and conquering the battell, to aduance him selfe with the Romaine Empire. Seuerus was not ignozant of the good service whiche his captaine had done him at that instant, either did he hide the intente wherewith he persecuted the same: for whiche cause the warres beeing finished, he commaunded his heade to be cut off: not for that whiche hee did, but for that which he would haue done.

When the Seuerians destroyed the citie of Lugduno, amongst the reste they slewe the sorrowfull Albinus, who so slaine they brought vnto Seuerus, commaunding to cutte off his heade, and to dismember and mangle his bodie all to pierces: whiche beeing done, he riding vpon a rough horse, all to trampled the body of Albinus, whiche was hackt and helmed to marmocks. All men that behelde Seuerus vse so greate inhumanitie with the body of Albinus, wepte: and all men that hearde the repozte thereof, were scandalized, and not without greate reason, for The office of a prince of moste perfecte pietie, is, to pardon the liuinge, and to bury the dead.

Seuerus

Seuerus treading and trampling the bodie of Albinus (after the maner of a fierce Lion) his horse grewe fearfull, and gaue him so shewe a fall against the ground, that he remained a great space astonied and in dismay, in such wise, that he missed verie narrowly, presently to haue paid with life, so enoyme an iniurie. These matters beeing finished, Seuerus dispatched his Pursuants into all partes, with the newes of this victorie: and the head of Albinus vnto Rome, and his bodie, as it was all to pierces trodden, trampled and dizen, he commaunded to be thowen into the riuer Rhodanus, to the ende that as he had taken away his life, so by no meanes any memorie should remaine of Albinus.

CHAP. XII.

Howe after the death of Albinus, Seuerus returned to Rome, and there slewe many.

Seuerus not satisfied with slaying his enimie Albinus, treading his bodie vnder his horse fete, casting the pierces thereof into the riuer Rhodanus, and sending his head vnto Rome to be set in the pilloze: but commaunded serch to be made for the bodies of all the noble Romans, which had bene slaine in the service of Albinus: and for that he might not chastice them in time of their life, he aduised to vituperate and defile them after their death, causing their bodies to be dizen, cut in pierces, and burnt: some thowen into riuers, to the ende they should neuer moze appeare: and other some vnto beastes to be deuoured. In all citiees that receiued, obeyed, or succoured Albinus or his souldiours, Seuerus did greate hurte, robbing their goods, and punishing their persons. Many citiees and people made their excuse, saying, they had not serued or followed Albinus, for that they had a desire so to do: but because they were not succoured of Seuerus, and yet ceased

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not

not to chastice and robbe them. Albinus had thre sonnes, a daughter, and a wife, generous in bloud and beautifull of face, whose throte with his childzen he commaunded to be cutt, and their bodies also to be cast into the riuer Rhodanus. And as Albinus was of greate power in all the Empire of Europe, and of him self verie grations, liberal, valiant, and noble minded: so in a manner all the nobles of Spaine and Fraunce, had followed his parte alike: the thzotes of all which, Seuerus (after the battaile) comaunded to be cutt: and though he slewe the fathers, yet he did not therfore pardon the wife and childzen. Albinus his wife and his childzen being slaine, and execution done vpon all persons that followed his opinion: Seuerus aplyed all their goods and riches, for his owne chamber, which were so great, and of such value, that it was doubted whether any Emperour had euer attained vnto the like. The prouinces of Spaine and Fraunce being ordered, and two gouernours placed in greate Britaine, Seuerus departed vnto Rome, and led with him all his armie: not for that, in all Italic he had any enimie bent against him, but to terrifie the common wealth of Rome. Seuerus of his owne naturall inclination was so quareulous, proude, vnquiet, bloudie, and doubtfull, that although he had peace, yet he woulde goe alwayes after the fashion of a warriour. Seuerus was receiued with greate ioye of the Romanes, although most certainly many of them stood in greate feare; for that they had wished that Albinus might haue preuailed, whereof Seuerus had certeine intelligence: whose condition was so harde, that to giue a cruell chasticement, a small occasion was sufficient. After that he had visited the great temple of Iupiter, he diuided amongst the capteines that followed in the warres, many iewels and greate riches: and further, gaue them certeine liberties, which is to wete, that they might wear rings of golde vpon their fingers, and entertaine Courtiers within their houses. It was no small grieue vnto the Romanes, that Seuerus had giuen such liberties vnto his men of warre: saying, that from thenceforth for euer to

weare

weare ringes of golde, they woulde spende their owne, & robbe others: and to vse concubines in their houses, woulde cause dissention amongst the people, and also debilitate their persons. In Rome there was a Consul named Claudius, which had his picture placed in the Senate, & was praised befoze all the people with a publique Oration for his wortheie actes done in Asia: whereof Seuerus tooke greate despight, because this Claudius was kinsman vnto Albinus. Seuerus did not knowe how to be reuenged of the Senate, but publicquely by proclamation, commaunded (vpon paine of death) that al men should call Commodus a God: for confirmation whereof, he did not only place his picture in the Senate, to the end they should reuerence him, but also in the temples to be adoze. To commaund the Romanes to adoze & reuerence Commodus, as one of the Gods, being (as he was) the worst of all men, it was vnto them so grienous to heare, & so harde to perforce, y they determined, not to go to the church, either to offer sacrifice vnto their Gods: because no parte thereof should be allotted vnto the God Commodus. Seuerus vppon a daye went vnto the Senate, & made there a long and truculent Oration, wherin, after he had spoken many thzeateninge & malicious words, he commaunded certeine letters to be read, which he found amongst Albinus writings, made by many Consuls, Senatours, & other gentlemen amongst y people, vnto Albinus, offering him their persons, sending their goods, & that he should not be dismaid in those warres: for that in the common wealth he was much desired. The reading of these letters being ended, he commaunded them presently to be tozne: & for the time did dissemble the matter, or to say better, did deferre the chastisement: for y after wardes, as well of such as were absent, as of them y were present, he tooke so great reuengement, y as y streets were bathed in bloud, y fields filled w carcases, y wayes scattered with quarters, & the pilloies beset with heades: they saide in Rome, y Silla was reuiued, & Nero was not dead. Seuerus made a memoziell of all the riche men, valiant, &

U.ij.

of

„ of power, that were in all the Empire: the greater parte
 „ whereof he charged to haue bene the seruantes, friends
 „ or fauourers of Iulianus, of Niger, or else of Albinus, his
 „ moztall enemies: for which cause, of free men, he made
 „ them slaues: of lordes, seruantes: of riche, poore: and
 „ also of liuing, dead men: in such wise, that he slewe ma-
 „ ny, not for offences which they had committed, but to rob
 „ them of their goods, which they had gathered together.
 „ Seuerus slewe some, with some reason, & others vpon smal
 „ occasion: but all these which followe, he killed without all
 „ reason or occasion: that is to say, Munius, Sellius, Claudi-
 „ us, Bitallius, Papianus, Elius, Iulius, Lolius, Aurelius,
 „ Antoninus, Posthumus, Sergius, Fabius, Nenius, A-
 „ musius, Casperius, Seyonius, Sulpitianus, Cocceus,
 „ Eruetus, Asilinius, Claudius, Honoratus, Petronius,
 „ Pessenius, Cestus, Aurelianus, Materius, Iulianus, Albi-
 „ nius, Cerellius, Faustianus, Herenius, Valerius, Nobis-
 „ us, Arabianus, Marcus, Fabatus. These men were
 „ glorious, both of bloud & also for noble dedes & riches: for
 „ they were either Consuls, Censors, Pretors, Senatours,
 „ Coles, Tribunes, or capteines: whose goods he employed
 „ not vnto the publique treasure, but did incorporate vnto
 „ his patrimonie, for him selfe to inioy the dayes of his owne
 „ life, & to leaue vnto his childzen after his death. Seuerus
 „ defamed Cincius an auncient Consul, affirming, that he
 „ had procured payson to kill him, wherfore he commaunded
 „ him to be slaine: but the trueth being knowen as Seuerus
 „ afterward reported, but y Cincius did much delight to goe
 „ on hunting, & had a fine pearke to kill the Boze & other be-
 „ nerie in the mountaines. He commaunded also Narcissus
 „ to be cast vnto y Lyons, who at the request of Martia cho-
 „ ked Commodus: it was nothing to commaund them to be
 „ slaine, but y with his owne eyes he would behold them ex-
 „ ecuted, which was wont to be so straunge vnto Romaine
 „ princes, that they neuer used to see any person put to death,
 „ neither so much as in the citie to be resident: but they used,
 „ if any suffered, to ride or go forth on hunting.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ Howe Seuerus returned into Asia, and con-
quered many prouinces.

After that Seuerus had conquered and slaine three Em-
 perours, that is to saye, Iulianus in Rome, Niger in
 Asia, and Albinus in Fraunce: it seemed vnto him, that
 since he had chastised and triumphed ouer the Romans, he
 ought also to make his name glorious amongst the Bar-
 barians: because all the warres that he helde vnto that
 daye, were moze to make him selfe Lord of the common
 wealth, then to magnifie his name. Seuerus aduised him
 selfe to go in his owne person to make warres with the
 Parthians, the occasion of which enterprize was: for that
 the king of Atreunes had fauoured y parcialtie of Niger,
 but had deferred the reuengement thereof, to make con-
 quest of Albinus being in great Britain. If Seuerus in this
 case had taken the opinion of the people, either the coun-
 sell of the Senate, he woulde neither haue taken those
 warres in hande, or made accompt of the iniurie: because
 at that time, those kingdomes were neither friends or
 foes with Rome. And as the Romans were fatigated &
 tyred with warres, so they were contented (for the time)
 to ceasse the recovering of them for their vassals, to obtaine
 them for quiet enemies. Seuerus departed vnto Asia, and
 in the way woulde first take the kingdome of y higher Arme-
 nia, whereof the king of Armenia being aduertised, and
 that he came with an armie of so greate power, and so de-
 termined to take his kingdome, met him vpon the way,
 not armed as a man of warre, but clad with the gar-
 ments of peate: his truce being set downe with Seuerus,
 presently he gaue him much money, and offered to sende
 him succour: for the accomplishment wherof, he deliuered
 vnto Seuerus his two sonnes in pledge: Seuerus did not
 onely confirme him in his kingdome, but also tooke him

M.iiij.

vnder

under his protection. The affaires of Armenia being dispatched, Seuerus departed towardes the kingdom of Hordoenos, whose king was named Anguaro, bothe crooked and lame, but yet no foole: for he had such skill to recover the good will of Seuerus, that he neither admitted him as a vassall, to ke no money, demanded no hostages, or did his countrie hurt, but receiued him to his familiar friendship, and made him a confederate with the people of Rome. Having passed the kingdom of Hordoenos, Seuerus entred the landes and countries of Albanos, and being then the moneth of April, and spring time, he founde the fieldes full of flowers and grasse, and commaunded his hostes for the space of fifteen dayes to be fedde, and his armie to be recreated and refreshed: because his hostes were growen leane, and his men tyred. Seuerus beeing departed from the fieldes of Albanos, entred the countrie of Arabia Felix, where they found that, which they found not in all the kingdomes of the worlde: namely, the trees that bare the precious Aromatike spices, and the boughes whereof they gathered the most fine and excellent baulme. Seuerus sacked all the towne of Arabia Felix, cut downe their fieldes, spoyle and oppressed all people, and as he afterwardes saide, he would not haue entred therein: for that being (as it was) so riche, so ioyfull, pleasant, and delectable: but because he found him selfe in greate cumber, to withdraue his souldiours from thence: for that they felt them selues more delighted with the vices of Arabia, then with the hazardes and daungers of the warres. Having passed the delectable countrie of Arabia Felix, Seuerus entred the countrie and kingdom of Athrabanos, against whose king principally he made that iourney. Athras was a great citie, situated vpon the top of a most high hill, and chiefest citie of all the kingdom: and for that cause was named the kingdom of Athrabanos. Seuerus went presently to the siege thereof: but as the king had inclosed him selfe therein, with great readinesse and prouision, the wall being strong, the citie rocke, the people

warre

warrelike, and furnished with munition and victuals: small was the hurte that Seuerus did vnto them with his, but which the Romans receiued was very greate. And as Seuerus gaue forth no other byrite, when he came from Rome, but to be reuenged of the Athrabanos, he performed that warre so exactly, that there was no daye but he battered the citie of Athras, and occupied his warlike engins, deuised and practised all manner fights and offences, that might be against the enimie, and the moste notified Romans, that there did not notifie them selues: but in the ende, might neither take the same, either as much as a capteine, or ouerthrow one winde we. Those that were besieged within that citie, to wit with their enimies, tyed very subtilly, little earthen pottes, vnto a kinde of byrdes like vnto Crowes, which flying ouer the armies of Seuerus, let fall their pottes vpon their pates: by which fell many had their heades broken: but much more were the Romans despighted, to consider howe little they did esteeme them, not fighting with them in armour, but with pottes, and tankardes. The ayre of that mountaine was verie subtile, the waters verie thinne, fruites in great abundance, and the sunne verie hot, and the grounde somewhat moyst: by which occasion Seuerus his whole campe fell into the diseale of the flaxe, and there died amongst the rest seuen notable capteines, two of Seuerus cousins, and a little bastarde sonne, which all men likewise thought to be his cousin: but by his greate sorowe & teares, he discovered the childe to be of his owne proper fleshe.

Seuerus considering the citie of Athras to be incrygnable, the people therein inuincible, and his campe also weakened through greate sickness, aduised to rayse his siege, before his armie were utterly lost, which he did, not without greate grieffe, and no lesse despight, being as he was, giuen vnto so many triumphes, and victories, he thought him selfe vanquished, since he might not overcome: but fortune & naturally discovereth her self to be variable.

¶

the

the victorie which shee denied Seuerus in fighting, shee in his flight gaue afterwarde more largely. The case was thus: that sailing on the Sea with all his armie, it was his chaunce to encounter with a tempest, and being forced to followe the disposition of the weather, and not as his heart desired, they brought him to riuers of the kingdom of Parthia, not three leagues distant from the great citie of Telsiphont, where the king was further entred into feasting, then compassed with armour. Seuerus entred into the fildes of Telsiphont, committing so greate spoiles and robberies, that he put the people into greate feare, which as Seuerus did take at the soudeine and vnwares, and being amazed, neither able to saye or answer, if they were demaunded: for that to flye they had no time, and to resist they had no force: & that whiche was worst of all, to make agrément, it was not in their handes: neither might they endure to submit themselves vnto the Romans. Seuerus arriuing at Telsiphont did subuert it vnto the ground, slew al that made resistance, and did captiuat man, woman, and childe: he toke al the treasure and riches, bothe of the citie and royall palace: finally all the countrie, treasure, goods and persons came to the handes of Seuerus, except the king Arthabanus, who escaped on horsebacke. Seuerus led with him certeine skillfull painters, which as he went traueiling, they went drawing and painting, all cities, castels, riuers, mountaines, nations, kingdomes, and prouinces, by & through which he passed: and all the battels and victories whiche he had made and obtained. Seuerus sent a greate Ambassage vnto the Senate and people of Rome, with whome he sent many captiues, much riches, and the tables wherin his victories were set out at large: the Romans gaue greate thanks vnto the Gods, and also greate praises vnto Seuerus: although most true, that all men were pleased with the victories, but would not, that they shoulde haue bene obtained by Seuerus. Departing from the kingdom of Parthia, he diuided amongst his armies all that

that he had taken from the Parthians: and for himselfe reserved nothing but that which he sent vnto the Senat, and a ring of Vnicorne, a white parat or poppingay, and a green horse: the which thinges he toke not for their value, but for the straungnes of their colours. Seuerus came through the kingdom of Palestina, and gaue them many lawes conformable vnto the lawes of the Romanes: commaunding vpon paine of death, that none shoulde name himselfe a Jew, either call himselfe a Christian, or obserue the lawe of Christians. From Palestina he came through Assyria, vnto the citie of Alexandria, where also he placed newe customes, and also made newe lawes, which he caused them to write and obserue: howbeit, they endured but the life of Seuerus: for after his death, they did not onely breake them, but also burnt the tables wherin they were written.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ Of Seuerus his sonnes, and of their euill inclination,

The kinges that were enemies being overcome, new confederation made with old friends, and all the prouinces of Asia reformed, he came vnto Rome, and as the Romans had prepared the Parthicke triumph, he might not enter triumphing: for that he came so weake of a quartane, and so lame of the gout, that he might neither indure the charriott, or suffer the intertainement of the people. It had chaunced to none of the Romane Empire, as it fortuned vnto Seuerus, that is to say, that had slaine so many princes, & obteyned so many victories, and yet neuer entered triumphing into Rome: which was not for his demerits, or repugnancie of the Romanes: but for his three first victories he might not triumphe, because they were Romane princes, and to his other victories of Asia his disease gaue impediment.

Seuerus had two legitimate sonnes, the elder was named

Al. b.

Bassia-

Bassianus, the other Geta, who notwithstanding they were brothers in blood, yet were they much different in conditions, which infirmities was not onely manifested in their infancie: for that in their childish playes they could neuer agree, either in weightie affaires yeld one consent. It was much noted amongst the Romanes, that y two brotherne being but children, might neuer agree in their childish playes and venises, that is to say, in making houses of clay, running at base, dicing topps, meating strawes, trilling the bolle, striking the drumme, and other such like childish trifles. That the one delighted, the other lothed: that which the elder affirmed, the younger denied: and if it happened their tutors to commaund them to play together, if the one did winne, and the other lose, they tare their haire, scratched their faces, whirled stones, stricke with their fistes, in such wise, that as from their teeth and face they due blood, and rent off their lockes, so they seemed rather to kill eche other as enemies, then to iest as brethren.

It was no small grieve unto Seuerus, when hee vnderstoode of the euil condition of his sennes, and that alwayes they were diuided amongst themselves, who travelled (by al meanes possible) to bring them to conformance, which he might neuer (by any meanes) bring to passe, although he requested: either would they obey, although hee commaunded: for his sonnes were so wilfull, that they ceased not to execute their owne wills, notwithstanding their fathers gentle sute, or his extreme commaundement. Seuerus also had a brother named Geta, a person of great boldnesse, and warlike, who in all warres followed Seuerus, and if Seuerus had haucie thoughtes, truly Geta his thoughtes were not humble: for hee helde it for most certaine, that vnto him Seuerus should leaue the Empire. Besides that Geta was valiant and warlike, so was he also gentle and diligent, that is to say, in seruing Seuerus, contenting the Senate, and pleasing the people.

The

The hatred and bhabbling that passed betwixte Bassianus and Geta his cousins, vsually hee reported it vnto all men, in such wyse, that Geta supposed to obtaine by gentle the Empire, that Seuerus had gotten with armes. Seuerus well vnderstoode, howe Geta wente thus angling for the Empire, and therein to take awaye all occasions, in the fourth yeare of his Empire, going against Albinus, at that time in the citie of Millaine, before hee passed the Alpes, hee created his elder sonne Caesar, and his younger Consul: whereuppon a certaine Capitaine said vnto Seuerus: it well seemeth Seuerus, thou remembrest not the displeasures that Bassianus and Geta thy sonnes haue done thee, either the seruice which thy brother Geta hath performed on thy behalfe.

To this Seuerus answered, it well appeareth that thou speakest by hearesay, rather then by any experience which thou hast in this case: for, as thou hast no brothers, either hast bene married to haue any children, no more knowest thou, what difference of loue is betwixte the one and the other: for I giue to vnderstande, that without all comparison, wee fathers doe more loue the thwartes of oure children, then the seruice of oure brethren.

The elder brother which was named Bassianus, changed his name, and commaunded all men to call him Antoninus Aurelius, in the memorie of Antoninus Pius, and of Marcus Aurelius: because these Princes were verie glorious in their liues, and in their Common wealthes no lesse beloued.

When Seuerus returned from the warres of Parthia, his sonnes Bassianus and Geta were then men: and for that hee vnderstoode that the Romanes were thereof then very doubtfull, hee requested his sonnes, that notwithstanding the variaunce betwixte themselves, they would be in peace wth the people: but herewith might hee not tame the condition of the young men, either persuade them to be in friendship with the Romanes: for as much
as hee

“ as he soldered with his good woozds, so much did they esca-
 “ dalize with their lewd woordes. Seuerus finding himse-
 “ infected with infirmities, compassed with enemies, and his
 “ sonnes so euill inclined, was alwayes sad, pensiue, melan-
 “ cholic, and (in a manner) in despaire: not onely doubting,
 “ they would diminish the estate wherein he left them, but
 “ also lose the honour which they did inherite. Seuerus con-
 “ sidering the daily complaints made of his sonnes in the Se-
 “ nate, and the continual displeasures which they gaue him,
 “ aduised to banishe them the vices and pleasures of Rome:
 “ the one hee sent into Germanie, the other into Panonia:
 “ but if they were euill in his presence, they were much
 “ worse in his absence: for that aforesaid, by their subiecti-
 “ on, they abstained from some vices, but afterwards with
 “ libertie they committed all mischief. The parents that
 with their owne hands, and in their owne houses, may not
 frame vertue in their children, will hardly attaine it at the
 hands of others: for that vertue is not obteyned in seeking
 straunge countries, but in the amendment of old errors.

CHAP. XV.

¶ Of a fauoured seruant of Seuerus
 named Plautianus.

*I*n the dayes of the Empire of the good Marcus Aureli-
 us, there came from Africa vnto Rome, a gentlemā na-
 med Plautianus, poore, blind in sight, craftie and subtile in
 condition: and being (as hee was) mutinous and quarel-
 ling, and wheresoeuer he went, mouing some debate, Mar-
 cus Aurelius commaunded him to be banished Rome: for
 he was a prince of such patience, that he suffered not in his
 common wealth a man that was bitious, or any young mā
 that was quarellous. Plautianus being banished Rome,
 departed vnto the garrisons of Illyria: and from thence al-
 so being caste as a seditious person, repaired at last, into
 the company of Seuerus, of whome he was very well han-
 dled,

died, and also honoured, and in all thinges placed aboue all
 men: some said that it was done of Seuerus, for that hee
 was of his countrie: some for kindred, and some durst say
 that hee serued not onely for martiall affayres, but also to
 do him seruice in the chamber. After that Seuerus came
 to be Emperour, he gaue so great credite vnto Plautianus,
 and so strictly did follow his counsell, that he neither read
 letter, but hee did see it, or signed commission that hee liked
 not, either gaue any rewarde that he craued not. In the
 Senate, he was placed in the most honourable seate: when
 he came forth into Rome, all the Gentlemen did accompa-
 nie him: when he came out of his house, all Embassadors
 did attend on him: in time of warre, all captaines sued vn-
 to him: if there were playes and pastimes, they were al-
 wayes represented before his palace: if they had to giue or
 receiue any money, all did passe through his hands: in such
 wise, that it was neuer scene in Rome, that any man with-
 out the title of an Emperour, enioyed so great portion of y^e
 Empire. Plautianus naturally was proud, ambitious, co-
 uetous, and cruell: and the more to shewe his fiercenesse,
 crueltie, & magnificence, he alwayes had a drazwne sword
 bozne before him: and when he passed through the streets,
 hee would that none should dare to behold him in the face,
 but cast downe their eyes to the ground: and when hee
 trauelled vpon the way, he had alwayes one that went be-
 fore, to giue warning to all persons to giue way, where he
 should passe: in such wise, that hee neither would behold
 strangers, either be scene of the countrie natives.

Seuerus gaue in rewarde vnto Plautianus, the goods of al
 persons that were condemned and confiscate in the Em-
 pire: and as hee was of a greedy and conetous nature, so
 they were infinite that he caused to be slaine in y^e Empire:
 not because they had so deserued, but for their goods which
 they possessed.

The elder sonne of Seuerus named Bassian^o, being come
 to ripe vnderstanding, and perceiuing how al things went,
 was greatly grieved, to see Plautianus haue so great power
 in the

in the gouernement of the common wealth: and Plautianus presently finding y^e hatred of Bassianus, practised with Seuerus that Bassianus should marrie with his only daughter: and incōtinently, the elder sonne of Seuerus was married vnto the daughter of Plautianus. Plautianus beholding himselfe not onely the alone fauoured, but also father in lawe with Seuerus, it seemed vnto him but a trifle to be Lord of the whole world: and most truly, Plautianus in heaping honour vpon honour, and estate vpon estate, bred his owne destruction: for that men neuer surfet to eat that which is necessarie, but in eating and drinking more then the stomache will beare. Though Plautianus daughter was very faire, of good condition, and brought with her a most rich dowrie, yet did her husband Bassianus, most cruelly hate her: which he discovered both in word and dede, affirming her to be the daughter of a base and vile person, and that hee would one day kill both her and her father: and yet not therewithall satisfied, they did neither sleepe in one chamber, or dine at one table. Bassianus answered certaine Romanes that requested him to bee friend with his wife, and to honour his father in law: I give you Romanes to vnderstand, that I did not marrie, but my father did marrie mee, which I would not haue done if he had commaunded me, but to defloure the daughter, and enioy the treasure of her father: and since it is done, let her seeke an husband, for I will seeke a wife. Plautianus vnderstanding what his sonne Bassianus had said, and that his daughter was not married, but dishonoured, that Seuerus was old & sicke, and that Bassianus held him not as a father in lawe, but as an enimie, determined to reuenge that iniurie: either els to lose both life and honour in the enterprize.

Bassianus informed his father Seuerus, of many tyrannies which Plautianus committed in the common wealth, and Plautianus also complained howe euill hee vsed his daughter: and thus they went on cōfirming their enimitie, and giuing every day new passions & tedious complaints vnto Seuerus: but in the end, hee gaue care vnto the complaints

plaints of Plautianus, as vnto a seruauant: but vnto Bassianus, as vnto a sonne. Seuerus considering the continuall displeasure given him by Plautianus, the tyrannies hee executed in the Empire, the enimitie betwixt him and Bassianus, and that also with his great fauour he esteemed him little, conceiued that some day he might rise with the Empire: wherefore, from thenceforth hee neither shewed him good countenance, either gaue him so great authoritie in the common wealth.

Plautianus did well perceiue, that he had not onely Bassianus vnto his enimie, but also stood in disgrace of Seuerus: and thought with himselfe, that to escape best cheape, either they would take away his life, or cast him out of fauour: and to deliuer himselfe of so great an infamie, he determined to kill them, to quite himselfe.

CHAP. XVI.

¶ Of a certaine treason that Plautianus had ordeined against Seuerus, and how it was discovered.

The order that Plautianus vsed, or to say better, the disorder that he practised to kill Seuerus and Bassianus, proceeded as from a passioned tyrant, and not as a man aduised: and so it afterwards rebounded to his losse and destruction. The case was thus, there was in Rome a Tribune named Saturninus, natie of Assyria, who was the greatest friend that Plautianus had, with whome hee did most communicate, to whom he did most commend his secretes, and also for whom he did most pleasure. Plautianus sending for this Saturninus an houre within night, and inclosing themselves within a chamber, said in great secrecie these wordes following.

Plautianus

The life of the
Plautianus his Oration
to Saturninus.

Saturninus, thou knowest how great loue I haue borne thee, and how many good deedes I haue done to thee, & thy house: wherof there needeth no other token, but the beholding of thee so highly aduanced in the Court, & so accepted in my seruice, many with me be offended, & at thee al men haue euuie. Friends, parents, acquaintance, recommended, and seruants, I had for whome to haue done: vnto some of whom I was much beholding, & of others I was to haue considered for seruice: all these notwithstanding, on thee onely I fixed mine eyes, to magnifie thee: and in thee I imployed my hart to loue thee. I sent now for thee, to recompt vnto thee my trauels and sorrowes, to the end thou shouldest helpe to deliuer mee from them: and herein thou shalt perceiue, the affectionate loue which I beare thee, in that I repose my confidence in thee, wherein I would not trust mine owne proper sonne: for sonnes thincke not, but howe to inherite their fathers goods, but verie friendes haue care to deliuer their friendes from griefe and sorrowe. Thou well knowest, Saturninus, what great seruice I haue done to Seuerus, and since my youth haue followed him in the warres. I say, I serued him so young, that I alone am his most auncient seruant: although I be now the most forgotten and abhorred. Setting a part all seruices which I haue done for him, and all great daungers that I haue passed to deliuer him from perill, I haue borne so tender affection vnto my Lord Seuerus, that I left to like him as a man, and did adore

him

him as a God: and that this is true, it appeareth most cleare, in that I gaue my daughter vnto his sonne Bassianus, and my selfe to be his perpetuall slaue. After I spent my youth in his seruice, & followed the father throughout the world; his sonne Bassianus nourished in my armes from his infancie, I did yeld him my goods, I gaue him my onely daughter, I gouerned his common wealth in peace, of his euill life I framed in al men an opinion of great ycttue, his cruelties and tyrannie I made all men beleue to be zeale of iustice: in such wise, that they neuer committed vile deede, that I soldered not: either at any time commaunded any difficult matter, that I accomplished not. The matter is thus come to passe, the Gods permitting, or my sorrowfull destinies procuring, I am fallen into so great hatred of Saturnus, and into cruel contempt and enimitie with Bassianus, that in recompence of al my seruice which I haue done them all the dayes of my life, they are now determined to take away my life. Thou seest now, Saturnin^{us}, whether it be reason that I endure the same, whereto if I should giue place, I should perish, my house should be lost, the gods vsferued, the whole Empire scandalized: and therefore it is couenient, that I execute on them, that which they would execute vpon mee: for that it is more consonant vnto reason, that the euil be corrected of y good, then that the vertuous should come vnder the power of the wicked: Behold Saturninus, what affection I beare thee, that haue layd vp in thy breast so great a secrete, this terrible deede I will put into thy handes: therefore presently thou must depart vnto the Court, and go into his chamber, where Seuerus sleepeth, and cut off his head: & from Bassianus his sonne also thou

X.

shalt

shalt take away his life. Thou shalt say vnto y guard, at Court, that euen now there came vnto mee a post out of Asia, and art sent by mee, to giue Seuerus intelligence thereof, and goest at such an houre, for that daunger dependeth thereon. And since thou hast not beene abashed to heare it, be not terrified to performe it: for that I sweare vnto thee by the immortal gods, that after Seuerus is dead, and I in the possession of the Empire, conformable vnto the great perill wherein now thou doest aduenture thy selfe, shall be thy rewards that then thou shalt receiue.

These and such other things Plautianus said vnto Saturninus: who answered, that hee was ready to do his commaundement, vpon condition, that hee would giue him in writing, in what manner he would haue him to kill Seuerus, and Bassianus his sonne: which he desired to this end, that if in time he should forget the recompence of so great a service, he might shewe him that writing, both to remeber the service past, as also the reward vnperformed. Plautianus doubted not to giue Saturninus a writing signed with his owne hand, wherein hee commaunded to kill Seuerus, and Bassianus his eldest sonne: the contents of the writing was thus.

In Plautianus do request as a friend, and commaund as a Cenfor, that thou Saturninus Tribune, do kill the Emperour Seuerus, and Bassianus his elder sonne: and for the same I promise thee, and by the immortall Gods sweare vnto thee, that as thou art onely in perill, so to make thee singular in the Empire.

Saturninus, as a man skilfull and subtil, for moze assurance vnto Plautianus, vpon his knees kist his hand, as though already he had bene sure of the Empire: and then being in y deepe of the night, he departeth vnto the Court, the

the guard presently giuing place, and the chamberlaines in like maner: who placing himselfe directly before Seuerus as he lay in his bed, said these words. O Seuerus, how careless art thou of the ambassage that thy greatly sauoured Plautianus doth send thee, whose messenger I am, not to giue thee warning (as I do aduise thee) but to kill thee and thy sonne Bassianus: for that as thou hast trusted him with thine honour, and giuen him of thy goodes, it seemeth vnto him also, that thou shouldest serue him with thy life. Great was the admiration of Seuerus, when hee heard what Saturninus said: and yet most true, that presently hee mighte not beleeue the same, or could thinke that so vile treason might be confeyned in Plautianus: but rather y his sonne Bassianus had bene the inuenter thereof, to lead him into disdaine and hatred against Plautianus. Bassianus being lodged within his father, at his voyce did awake and came forth, whome his father Seuerus reprimanded & blamed with words very sharpe, for the inuention of so great euill: and sware (by the immortal Gods) to receiue him from thenceforth into his further grace and fauour, in the way of reuenge, for so great an impietie: for Plautianus was not a man to haue any such thought in his heart. And as Bassianus had not heard the beginning of Saturninus speech, so was hee abashed to see his father so grauously offended: wheruppon Saturninus seeing the incredulitie of the Emperour Seuerus, & how entirely he loued Plautianus, pulled forth his writing, wherein hee was commaunded to kill both him & his sonne: and further, did humbly craue, that Plautianus might be sent forth, with aduertisement, that Seuerus and his sonne were slaine, and then it should be seene that he would come apparelled not in silk, but in yron. One was sent as from Saturninus, vnto Plautianus to come to Court, where, at his arriual finding all in silence, Saturninus met him at the chamber doore, & receiuing him as new Emperour, vpon his knees did kisse his hands, and taking him by the hand in y darke, said he would direct him where Seuerus was strangled, and his sonne Bassianus slaine.

x. y.

Plau-

Plautianus thinking all safe & sure that Saturninus saide, entered the chamber alone; where Severus & Bassianus with certaine assistants were ready to receive them: to whom, when he beheld living, that he had thought to be dead, he changed countenance, and lost his speech.

“ A long time was Severus reprehending Plautianus, putting him in remembrance of all things which he had done for him, and in especiall, to many & great displeasures which he had passed for his sake, and had advanced him above all persons in the Empire, and above all the rest, had revenged him of all his enemies. After Plautianus had a little recovered himself, he bowed his knees before his lord Severus, and with teares began to crave pardon for his offence, promising amendment in time to come, saying: that for his owne fault, he ought to pardon him, although hee wanted all deserving for any mercie, but to take away all occasion of reproche in the Empire, that ever he had favoured so wicked a person. Beholding Plautianus teares, the promises which he made, the hoarie head & beard that he so tare, and the great love that he had borne him, Severus was in a maner determined to pardon him: but in the end, being found to be clad in a shirt of male, wheron Bassianus laying his hand, said. Tell mee Plautianus, into princes chambers at such an houre as this, do servants enter apparelled in silke, or armed with iron? I sweare unto thee by the immortal Gods, if thou bringest yron to kill vs, thou shalt here die with yron. And hardly habended these words, when he began to stab him with his dagger, whose presently fell downe dead, and was beheaded: whose head was fixed upon a lance over the port of Hostia, the body was cast into the Tiber to traile alongest the streets of Rome. I am, &c.

This was the end and conclusion of the favoured and private Plautianus, to whom Bassianus had advanced, and solic after wards call away.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ Of the particular vices and vertues of Seuerus.

The newes being spread throughout Rome, that Plautianus was dead, all the people took great pleasure: and no lesse would haue ioyed, if Plautianus had slain Seuerus and his sonne Bassianus: for that all three were so evil wished in the common wealth, that the least euill which they would them in the common wealth, was but death. The offices that Plautianus held in the common wealth, Seuerus diuided amongst the Tribunes, simple and plaine men, and not given to trouble: but the love and fauour which he had vnto Plautianus, he neuer after committed vnto any person: for as after wardes he said, he knew not to whom to trust, since his private and favoured seruant Plautianus would murder him. Plautianus being dead, there was none that might suffer or indure the cruelties of the prince Bassianus, or tolerate his tyrannies: for Bassianus stood in awe of Plautianus, partly for that he was his father in law, as also for that he had bred him from his infancie. Seuerus considering his sonnes Bassianus & Geta to increase in age, & decrease in wit, caused wilde beasts to be brought for them to kill, hordes to runne, inuention of new playes to practise, & therewith to occupy their persons, diuerting their mindes to those games, to remove them from vices. Finding no profit to lead his sonnes to vertue by those warlike exercises, he would tal them in secrete, and tel them of many old examples, how such and such princes were cast away by discord: and that the same mischance must happen vnto them, if they did not behaue themselves as friends, & fauour the other as brothers: for that with concord small things increase, & by discord great things came to nought. Besides that, the two brethren were overthwart in manners, and peruerse of conditions, (as before hath bene said) their

tutors did them much hurt: that is to say, in dissembling their vices, & inciting them to greater enimities: whereof Seuerus being aduertised, some of them he banished, some he dispatched, & some he drowned in welles; affirming that they deserued more punishment than kindled enimities, then the persons that did execute them. Plautianus left a daughter, that was wife vnto Bassianus, and her sonne nephew vnto Seuerus, and sonne vnto Bassianus: as well the mother that was young, as y^e sonne which was a child they banished into Sicyl, giuing them of al that which they had, no more but to serue them wherw^o to eate: which Seuerus did, not for enuie that he bare to his nephew & daughter in law, but not to offend his sonne Bassianus, Seuerus did vaunt himself, y^e his predecessours had bin of a citie in Africa, named Tripol, whitch he did nobilitate, not only in buildings, but also in rents & priuileges, and planted there an orchard of Oliue trees, which did yeld so great quantitie of oyle, y^e it was sufficient for a great part of Africa and Italie. Seuerus was a friend of wisdom, fauoured, studious, & delt pery well with such as were learned: but ioyntly with this, he did most abhorre them, if they were either ouerthwart, or troublesome: for he vsed to say, that fooles set neighbours at variance, but men that were wise & malicious brought kingdomes together by the eares. He was also inclined to read books, and to vnderstand antiquities: & if he might not by his important affaires read himselfe, he made others to read: and further, if he chaunced to be so busied, y^e he might not read himselfe, either heare reading, at such times they read vnto him when he was eating, or whē he went to bed. He himselfe did write his owne life, & did write it as truly as if he had been a chronicler, that is to say, praising his victories, & reprehending his vices: and also most truly made report of all men that he kild, but not of the small reason y^e he had so to do. Seuerus was much blamed for his great covetise of goods, & for want of care & negligence of his honour: for y^e his wife Iulia was a common adulteresse, whom he did neither chastise, or put away: neither is it written, y^e ever he did

he did aduise or blame her. It was sufficient for Seuerus to know his wife to be euil, to be named Iulia, whiche name was euer infamous amongst y^e womē of Rome. Although he were an enimie of vices, and of vicious mē, much more was he enimie of thēues, aboue all other kinde of wicked people: and so is it said and found of him, that he did heare with many malefactors, but neuer pardoned any thēse. In his apparel he was not curious or costly, but alwaies was apparelled as a man of great sobernes: especially, much commended, that in his Empire he neuer beheld any person in Rome clad with silke or purple. Also in his feeding he was not disordinate, & yet truly of certaine fruits of Africa giue to feede somewhat ouermuch, and vsed to say, that they had a better relishe then others: for that being a child, hee was bred with them. He delighted also more to eate fishe then flesh, and sometimes passed an whole moneth without the tast of any flesh: the flesh that he best loued was mutton, & of fish, the Trout. In many cities of y^e Empire, they made by his comaundement very notable workes: especially in the citie of Tripol in Africa, where he was borne, he made there a fort, & an house, & compassed it with a very strong wall. He was a prince very careful, that the citie of Rome should alwayes be well prouided, which was manifested at his death, at what time they found vij. yeares prouision in wheat and oyle.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ How Seuerus passed into great Britaine, where he died.

Seuerus being settled in securitie, and intending certaine bulloinges in Rome, receiued letters from y^e gouernour of great Britaine, which now is named England, y^e a great part of the Island was reuolted from the seruice of Rome: and to appease & force them to obedience, his presence was right necessarie: because the defect himselfe was not only denied al obedience, but they sought meanes also to kill him. Seuerus was not displeased with this newes, although he were both old and sickly: for that he alwayes desired the

offer of great things to magnifie his fame, and perpetuate his memorie. Seuerus also was pleased with those warres, to haue occasion to withdraw his sonnes from the bices of Rome: and so it came to passe, that his elder sonne Bassianus he made captaine of the armie that he led by land: & to his younger sonne Geta, he gaue the charge of his armie & naute that passed by sea. Seuerus at the soudeine and vnpro- uided, assailed the Britaines, who at that instant they vnder- stood of his arriuall in the Isle, sent their Ambassadors: partly to yeld account, and partly to discharge themselves of their rebellion, as also to set downe betwixt them a cer- teine concord, which Seuerus would neither yeld vnto, or abide to heare off: for he bent rather to obtaine y renoune of Britaine, then for any reason to make them warre. His armies being disimbarked, & the Ambassadors dispatched, euery man prepared, the one to offend, and the other to de- fend: Seuerus first provided bridges, wheruppon his horse- men might passe, & his foote men auoyd occasion to swim. The Britaines of that part of Britaine, in those dayes, had a custome in time of warre, to encounter their enemies in la- kes & waters, where they did place themselves by vnto the arme pits, and from thence did fight and shew their skil: & when their enemies did shote or whirle their dartes, they would stoppe or vne vnder water: in such wise, that it cha- ced thre sundrie times, that neuer happened in any part of the world: which is to witt, that 100. naked men, ouer- came 1000. armed persons. The at any time they would fight in the field, they used certaine targets after the man- ner of bucklers, & halfe swords girt vpon their bare flesh. All matters appertaining vnto the warres brought vnto perfection, Seuerus confirmed his younger sonne Geta, go- uernour of a certaine place of the Island that had not re- belled, and kept his elder sonne Bassianus nere vnto his olme person: executing cruel warres vpon the Barbari- ans, who vpon determination to doe hurte, or offend their enemies, dyed with great hardnesse: and vpon other determination, would put themselves to flight: in which flight

flight their enemies alwayes had the woordes.

The warres being trauesed after this manner, the golwt did grieuouly increase vpon Seuerus, in such manner, that he could neither go out of his campe, either sitt in counsel with his capteines: in so much, that he was con- strained to commend the whole charge of the armie vnto his sonne Bassianus, who more did practise secretly to frame hatred amongst the armies vnto his brother Geta, then to make conquest of the enemies. Bassianus so much reioyced of his fathers grieffe, and had so great care to inherite, that he saue no houre, wherein he wished not his fathers death. Not meaning to leaue any euil vnperfour- med that touched an euil nature, adding euill vnto euill, he suborned the Physicians that did cure him, and the ser- uants that serued him, in such wise, the one to serue him, and the other cure him, that if the golwt did not finish him, poison shoulde dispatche him. Although no man said vnto Seuerus any one woorde, he did well perceiue what his sonne Bassianus desired: and so it came to passe, that be- holding the disobedience which his sonne did beare him, & howe euil his seruants serued him, and howe slenderly his Physician did visite him: although he were olde and sickely, he died of pure sorrowe, and melancholy. The last wordes which Seuerus saide, before he dyed, they saye were these. When I tooke the Empire, I founde the common wealth throughout the worlde in trouble, and nowe I dye, I leaue it in peace: and although I dye without power to testar ny firmer, yet I leaue the Empire firme vnto my two sonnes Antonines: if they shal proue good, they remaine exactly made princes: and if they shal be euil, I leaue them nothing. Before Seuerus dyed, he commaunded two fortunes of gold to be made, for either of his sonnes one: because it was the ensigne of the Em- pire, to take away all occasion after his death, for any of them, by him selfe, or for him selfe, to be aduanced with the Empire, but equally to remaine in power and estate. This was the chide of Seuerus, whome his enemies might

A. V.

not

“not kill with armes: and yet with grieve and sorow was
 “slaine by his sonnes. . Seuerus liued thre score and fiftene
 “yeres, and reigned two and twentie yerres: his bones were
 “burnt, and the ashes carried to Rome.

“Of this Emperour Seuerus, the Senate determi-
 “ned that, which of no other prince was determined, name-
 “ly, *Illum aut nasci non debuisse, aut mori*: whiche is to
 “saye: It had beene good (in respect of his cruelties which
 “he did) he had not beene borne: and since that he was
 “borne, (in consideration of the profite which he did in the
 “common wealth) it had beene good he had not died.

*The life of the Emperour Bassianus,
 sonne vnto Seuerus, compiled by
 syr Anthonic of Guevara, Bishop of Mondon-
 nedo, preacher, chronicler, and coun-
 seller vnto the Emperour
 Charles the fift.*

CHAP. I.

¶ How Bassianus and his brother Geta did in-
 herite the Empire of their fa-
 ther Seuerus.



Resently after the death of the Empe-
 rour Seuerus in great Britaine, his two
 sonnes, Bassianus and Geta, did succed
 him in the Empire, betwixt whom
 there was extreme discorde and cruell
 hatred: for, notwithstanding in bloude
 they were brothers, yet in will & works
 they dealt as enemies. As Bassian^s was
 elder brother, and also moze rauillous & troublesome, so he
 began secretly to p^{er}secute and suborne the capteines of
 the

the armie to him onely to giue the Empire, and to exclude
 Geta his younger brother from the inheritance: and to
 brayue them vnto his purpose, he spake swete wordes,
 blinded them with faire promises of greate hope, and also
 gaue them riche Jewels. Nothing might Bassianus at-
 taine with the capteines of his armie, for that euery one
 in particular, and all in generall, made him answer, that
 since they were sonnes vnto their lord Seuerus, and bothe
 brethren, and togethly had swoyne vnto them as their
 Lordes and Princes, it were not iust they should be tray-
 tors in their promise vnto their father: or shoulde make
 a breach of their othe, that in the temples they had swoyn
 vnto the Gods.

After that Bassianus might not corrupt the armie with
 wordes, deedes, or giftes, he toke peace with the Britans,
 to the ende presently to departe towarde Rome: and his
 brother Geta being aduertised that Bassianus sought the
 Empire vnto him selfe, which the father Seuerus had lefte
 vnto them both, grewe into great hatred & disdain with
 his brother: in such wise, that from thenceforth, the two
 brethren behaued them selues, not only as bitter enemies,
 but also the courte was diuided into bandes. Bassianus &
 Geta were brethren by the father, but not by the mother:
 for that Bassianus was his sonne by his first wife, and Ge-
 ta by Iulia whiche was the second wife. Geta his mother,
 and the auncient and honourable Romanes that were re-
 maining after the death of Seuerus, did not a little tra-
 uaille to confederate and set them at agreement: but in
 the ende, they were neither conuincied with the infinite
 feares of the mother, either might be perswaded by the
 great requestes and instant intreatance of their friendes.
 The affaires of Britaine being set in order, the two bre-
 thren much without order, departed towarde Rome, car-
 rying with them the reliques of their father Seuerus, that
 is to say, his bones made ashes, which in all cities, as they
 passed, were receiued with as great reuerence, as if Se-
 uerus had bene aliue.

From the time that Bassianus & Geta departed from Britaine, until they entred Rome, they neuer lodged in one lodging, or seode at one table, or had conference vppon the waye, but had of eache other great suspicion: yea in meat and drinke to haue receiued payson. To go in so greates doubt and suspicion, was cause of small staye vppon the waye, although it were very long: and before their coming vnto Rome, either of them had sent their secreate messengers, not onely to take vp the best lodgings in Rome, but also to sollicite and to winne the willes of the common wealth, because they conceiued, that they might not toyntly be conserued in their seigniozie, but that one must remaine with the Empire. That day on which Bassianus and Geta his brother shoulde enter Rome, all Rome came forth to receiue them, which was mixed wth ioye and sorowe: sorowe, for the death and buriall of Seuerus: and ioye, for that his children were come aliuie to reigne in his steade. Entering into the citie, the two brethren and newe Emperours went before, appareled in purple, on horsebacke: after them, came the Senators all on foote, who bare on their shoulders, a chest of Unicorn, wherein was placed the ashes of Seuerus: such persons as attended the dead went weeping: and those that accompanied Bassianus & Geta went singing. Being entred into the citie, and the day farre spent, they went vnto the temple of the greates Emperour Marcus Aurelius, where the two newe Princes fell on their knees to adore his sepulchre, as a moste holie man, and there bestowed the ashes of their father Seuerus. Before Seuerus departed vnto the second warres of Britaine, he had begon a most sumptuous sepulchre in the field of Mars: amongst other ornaments that it had, were seven pillars polished verie high and statelie, wherein was grauen all his actes and victories: but his life first was finished, before his sepulture was ended.

CHAP. II.

¶ Howe in Rome they burie their Emperours, and of greates ceremonies which there they vsed.

After that Bassianus and Geta his brother had reposed the body of their father Seuerus in the temple of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, presently they beganne to consecrate his body, and to place his soule with the Gods, accordinge to the custome of the Romans: whiche ceremony was not done, but vnto dead Emperours: and the order thereof was thus. Presently vpon the death of an Emperour, the Senate did assemble to determine, if hee deserved to be buried with the Gods, either els after his burial to leaue him to obliuion as other men: and if he had bene euill, the Senate woulde be absent at his buriall: and if he had bene good, all clad in blacke, woulde attend to consecrate his body. And to do the same, their first attempt was to bury the body of the deade prince without any ceremony, and then made him an image of woode after the manner of a sicke and colourlesse man, which they placed alofte vpon a scaffolde ouer the Courte gate: and that image, although it were of a sicke man, yet did they clad it with garments of silke and golde, as though the counterfette were aliuie. In the hight of that scaffolde, or throne, the Senate were set on the lefte hande, and on the right hand all the matrones of Rome: of whome none might be appareled richly, either deckt with iuels of gold or stone: but all persones were there clad in white, for that all white apparell in Rome was counted mourning. The Senators and matrones were placed and sett at the risinge of the sunne, and did not rise vntill the sunne was set: there might they neither speake, or gaze about, but all that time was consumed in sighing, weeping, and weeping.

From houre to houre, Physicians came and went to visite that Image, and so did raise, beholde, and feele his pulles, as if the Emperour him selfe had bene there alieue and alwayes at their parting would report vnto the Senatours and ladies, that the sicke person dyed on to death. At which newes, the matrones did grite and shryke, and the Senatours did weepe and waile. This order they vsed seuen dayes together, but first vpon the sixt day, the Physicians did forsake the sicke person, and finally, on the seuenth day manifestly would publish his death: presently after he was denounced for dead, placing the handles of the baire whereon the Image of the dead was laide vpon their shoulders, the chiefest and moste honourable Senatours on horsebacke did beare the same: and after this manner went vnto the place named Vaicia, and might not go by any other way but by the sacred waye, whiche was a tracke where no man durst passe, but Emperours that were dead and priestes that were alieue. In that place named Vaicia, there was another buylding made of stone, after the manner of a Throne, hauing on bothe sides degrees and staires to mount aloft, where they did place the Image of the dead Emperour: vpon the one staires, stood children, the sonnes of the gentlemen of Rome, and on the other parte stood the damfels and virgins of Rome, and there did singe many sorrowfull songes and hymnes, published in the praise of the dead. From thence they removed the baire with the Image of the dead, vnto the feld of Mars, where also was made another scaffold, all of oyle wood, vnder the vault whereof was laide stubble, stalkes, and strawe, and other kindling matter to burne: the outside was bzanelly painted, and hanged with rich tapestrie, and aloft vpon the highest parte thereof, they placed the Image of the dead Emperour. On the day in which this ceremonie was perfourmed in Rome, they did concurre to beholde the same from all partes of Italic: and euerye Lord and ladie that was present, did thowle vpon the degrees of that Throne, Myrrre, incense, aloes, amber, roses, and

and other thinges of fragrant sauiours. When all men had offered their sweet perfumes, the Senatours did skirmish on horseback, and presently after them the two Consuls gaue a boylt aloft on their chariots gorgeously adorned: and after them there followed on foote, all the auncient Romanes and neighbourhood of Rome, and all such as had bene captaines of the warres: all which after they had gone a turne about the Throne, fel downe groueling, exclaiming very lowde against the ground. After the thre processions were done, which is to wete, of y Senatours, of the Consuls, and of the capteines, came he that did inherite the Empire, who with a burning torche, gaue fire to that Throne, whiche being all of oyle stufte, presently was consumed. Befoze the beginning of this great ceremonie, the Senate sought out against that day a bzauis Eagle, which was placed betwixt the handles of y baire, where the Image of the dead was laide: with great skill and subtiltie, at the time that the Image burnt, the Eagle was loosed and felle away: and as her proper nature is to flye vpwarde, all men saide with lowde voices, that it was the soule of the dead Emperour, that was gone to the Goddes vp to heauen. As oft as ye shall finde these words written of any Prince or notable personage, namely: *Inter diuos relatus est*, that is, they haue placed him with the Gods, all these ceremonies were done vnto him: vnto such a one, from thenceforth, they might sacrifice, adore, make temples, and place Priestes, in such manner, they had to honour him as a God, and not to talke of him, as of a man.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of the mortall hatred betwixt Balsianus and Geta his brother.

After the two bzethzen had accomplished the funerall office of their father Seuerus, they went bothe to lodge

in the sacred palace: not ioyntly, but parting the lodging betwixt them, euery one placing porters by them selues, and their gard to attende vpon them. Although their lodging was one, yet their willes and dispositions were diuers: and suche as had to deale in matters of importance, conferred not with them, but with their mother: who took the opinion of the one, and so of the other, which after wardes was perfourmed by aduise and consent of the Senate: because otherwise the common wealth shoulde haue runne at randon and be lost. These two Princes neuer ioyntly came forth, but when they went to the Senate, or to visite the temple of the greate Emperour Marcus Aurelius: for Seuerus had commaunded, that weekly they shoulde offer sacrifices in that temple; and monethly his heires shoulde visite that sepulchre. Bassianus and his brother Geta, had small care to visite temples, offer sacrifices, go to the Senate, reforme the comon wealth, either prouide necessarie matter for the warres: but all their bent and studie was, the one to beguile the other, & to winne the willes of the people: to the ende that one being dead, the other might reigne without contradiction. Both the brethren being thus diuided, and bothe leading the Empire into handes: notwithstanding that bothe had enemies and friendes, yet alwayes the greater parte of the common wealth were more affectionate to the younger sonne, which was Geta. Geta was white and redde, high, sharpe, milde, nimble, of greate lightnesse, and of verie good condition: and yet in respect of reigning he was as proude as Bassianus. Bassianus his brother was a fallow blacke, cholerike adust, little of bodie, broad forehead, muche skinne on his handes, hollowe and hoarse of voice, preigant, subtille, diligent, and a liar: for if he needed any thing, he woulde flatter all men with faire words, and after ended all things in lies. The diuisions euery day proceedinge from euil to worse, it was beyonde all mennes powers, to bring them agreed, or make them friendes: they bothe denied, without aduertisement of any

any person to diuide the Empire: the manner was, that all kingdomes shoulde equally be diuided in two partes, & that the name of Emperour shoulde be indifferent vnto them both.

There was allotted vnto Bassianus all Europe, & vnto Geta his brother the kingdomes of Asia: and the end wherfore they diuided the Empire, was, not to be friendes from thenceforth, but to haue libertie, men, and riches, to rise with Rome: and he that might do most, to dispatche the other of his life. When this agreement was made, they determined to call their mother Iulia, and all the auncient seruantes and friendes of the house of Seuerus their father: vnto whome Bassianus came to vnderstand, how his brother and he had agreed, and were become friendes: and their agreement was, that they had diuided the Empire, he remaining with the estate and seat of Rome, and Geta his brother hauing Antioche the head of his Empire, and the estate of all Asia. As Bassianus then saide, so it was agreed, that y gods of the patrimonie were diuided in three partes, two partes for the two brethren, and the third for Iulia their mother: and further, that all Senatours, capitaines, and other notable persons of the Empire, shoulde (if they so liked) might go with Geta into Asia, or remaine with Bassianus in Rome. There was no man there that liked this agreement, much lesse allowed y same: for they all did see it was but fained, and that ere long the Empire woulde be inflamed with warres, as in the dayes of Iulius Caesar and Pompeyus, of Caesar Augustus, and Marcus Antonius. Although all men were grieved with y which was saide, yet all men did both dissemble and keepe silence, in sad countenance casting their eyes to the ground: which their mother Iulia, possessing patience in sufficient, answered and saide vnto them as followeth.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of an excellent speache vttered by the mother vnto her sonnes.

Aa.i.

I may

I may wel call ye sonnes (O children of my heart) since thou Geta proceededst from mine intrailles, & thee Bassianus I haue nourished with my breastes: & I sweare by the immortall Gods, that much greater is the loue that I bare thee, then the affinitie which I haue with thy brother. Thou well knowest Bassianus, that from the first houre that I came to the court, & was wife vnto thy father Seuerus, I had the name of mother in lawe, & the works of a perfect mother: and that many times thou didst request mee to cherish thy brother Geta, for that it seemed vnto thee he was not fauoured: in such wise, that if he be the only person that I haue borne, thou only wast he that was cherished. I haue great reason to call you my children, & to bewaile you as children, to talke with you as children: for on the day y^e the one proceeded frō my bowels, the other entred into my harte. Maruell ye not to see mee powre forth so many teares, & at euery worde to be dismaide & swoone: for, as ye see my sorrowfull eyes, so may you behold my lamentable heart: ye should well perceiue it gush out more with bloud, then mine eyes doe flowe with teares. If my husbände & your father shoulde heare that which I heare, and should see that which I see, it would grieue him that euer ye were borne: and no lesse, that euer he begate you: because you wil giue no credite vnto your friendes; either obey me your sorrowfull mother, or persourme his will & comaundemēt. Wherefore do ye seeke the whole for one, since he left the same for bothe: what an heauie matter is this my children: the Gods haue created ye brethren, and you haue conuerted your selues enimies: the glory which ye possesse, to haue had such a father: ye would quite
him

him with so much griefe, to haue so frowarde children. To leaue the Empire entire, your father slewe Iulianus, Pessenius Niger, and Albinus, that helde it diuided in three partes: and nowe againe ye will diuide and rent it in pieces. Do ye not vnderstand, howe Princes that haue their willes vnited, neede not to diuide their countries? Haue ye not heard say, that to obtaine honour, & to defende that which we possesse, for these two only things, & for no other cause warre is raised betwixt kinges and princes? If this be true (as it is) and both you falling out for goods, knowe ye not, that your father onely of him self, hath left ye more then all the Princes of the worlde haue left vnto them? And if it so be, that ye strue for the attainment of honour, I knowe not to what ende ye would haue more honour, then to be Emperours of Rome. O immortall Gods! I inuocate, and moste humbly pray you, that ye deale not according to the childishnesse of these young men, but agreeable vnto the great seruice which their father hath done you, & the abundance of teares which their lamentable mother hath powred foorth: for otherwise, the memory of my Lord Seuerus shal perish & be lost, & the maiestie of y^e Empire put in great danger. If we did think (my children) y^e this diuision of the Empire, might be an occasiō frō henceforth to deale, & liue like brethrē, we would hold it all for good, and thinke it all right well: but what doth it profite, that ye haue diuided the Empire onely in two partes: and ye twaine remaine diuided in an hundreth thousande differences? If ye wil be fauoured of the Gods, & obeyed of men, call to remembrance your fathers commaundement: condescend vnto your mothers request, and yecalde
Aa.ii. your

your selues vnto the iudgement of your friendes : for that young Princes do neuer knowe to gouerne wel, if they permitt not to be gouerned of the vertuous. Consider children, that ye are but younglings, and in great affaires haue small experience : and that your youth shall leade you vnto many vices, & your smal experience cause you to fall in great & many errours. Also (my children) ye haue to consider, that ye possesse your heartes too much passioned, and go inuironed with many lyars : which two thinges be most cruell and enorme, in the persons & houses of princes : because with their passion, they committ much iniustice, and by lies, they cloake many foule and pernicious deedes. The passioned and furious hearte is sufficed with his owne furie, to be lead into all errours: and the lyar defendeth him from all knowlege and acquaintaunce of his owne fault. If ye remember your selues, that ye be men, and that I am a woman, with great reason ye might haue small regarde vnto that which I do say: but if ye consider that ye be my children, and I your mother, greate estimation should ye conceiue of my counsell: for that credite which I lose to be a woman, I recouer for that I am your mother. If ye did loue your father, as your father loued you, your sorrowful mother should haue no cause so much to persuaide you to be friendes: for that to remoue all causes to bring his honour in disputation, ye would refuse & cast behind you all interest whatsoeuer of any goods. Since ye will not liue in peace, in as much as it toucheth the seruice vnto the Gods, and the great mischiefes that must follow your owne persons, and the infamie wherewith ye shall infect your dead father, yet shoulde ye doe the same,

same, for the loue and behalfe of your liuing mother: because the dissentions, trauelles, and infidelities of the children, many they be that doe beholde them: but in the ende, the mothers do onely bewaile them. Against the testament of your father, without the will of your mother, contrarie vnto the custome of the Senate, and without aduise of any friend, ye haue betwixt you diuided the empire, leauing me vnto my selfe to be diuided: wherein, speaking conformably vnto iustice, it had bene more reason ye should haue diuided your owne proper mother, then the landes & countries of others. O Immortal Gods, why haue ye taken away my Lord Saueus vnto your selues, and left me placed in so many daungers and trauels? since ye haue giuen me two children, why was not giuen me two heartes, and if I craue two heartes, it is but to loue them: but two thousand heartes wil not suffice to endure their vnkindnesse. O my children, (although no children of my counsell) for that, though ye be mine by birth, yet are ye become straungers by disobedience. I knowe not my childre, what to say more vnto you : but since ye be twaine, and my heart but one: that ye pull it forth, & open it in the midst, and diuide it as ye haue diuided the Empire : and yet by the vestall mother, I sweare vnto you, that if ye opened my heart, and made search therein, ye shoulde finde in the same the greatnesse of my loue, but much more, that I suffer and am tormented.

CHAP. V.

¶ Howe Balsianus, to obtaine the Empire vnto him selfe, slewe his brother in his mothers armes,

Aa.iii.

It

It was lamentable to heare the Emperesse Julia, but much more to beholde her, who seeing her children so extremely diuided, and so farre from fraternitie, at euery moue which shee saide, the Heauens did cleaue with sighes, and the ground was watered with teares. At the instant shee finished her talke, shee rose from her chaire, & going to her sonnes, with the right hand shee taketh Bassianus, and Geta with the left, embracing them with her selfe, traueilling to cause them to imbrace, and to be reconciled and ioyning all their three faces together, with aboundant teares of the mother, the faces of her sonnes were all wetted and bedewed. Many Romanes that were present began to mourne, in hearing what Julia saide, and afterwardees holwe with her children shee did behaue her selfe: no man replied or spake more wordes, in as much as all men did allowe that which the mother saide: and improued the diuision of the Empire which the sonnes had made.

The heartes of these two Princes were so muche passioned, and ioyntly therewith of nature so indurate, that when the mother did talke vnto them, it seemed not, but that they were thinking of some other matter; which had most perfect apparance, because at that time they were neither moued with compassion of her teares, either afterwardees did take any profite of her counsell. The mother only persited not in her traueile to reconcile them, but that from thenceforth they ceased not to discouer greater hatred: that is to saye, in that either of them sought to corrupt each others friend, promising greates wealth in Rome to be giuen vnto him that would consecret his lordes meate with payson. When Bassianus perceived, that he might not (by any meane) dispatche his brother Geta with payson, and ioyntly therewith, that the Romanes were somewhat inclined vnto him by affection, determined on a daye, when all persons were most inclined to sleepe after noone, to go vnto the lodging of his mother Julia,

with

with whome Geta remained: and holding them at their rest, he gaue Geta so many stabbes with his dagger, that he was bereft of his life. When Bassianus set vpon his brother Geta, the mother to saue him, cast her selfe vpon him; notwithstanding he ceased not to wound him, and kill him. The case was thus, that with one blowe he both wounded his brother, and imbrued the garment of the mother; and finally, the brother remained dead; and the mothers garments defiled.

This done Bassianus goeth forth through al the court, exclaming with a loude voyce, and with greates feare and trembling; treason, treason, my brother Geta would haue slaine me by treason in my bed, and if I had not leapt out at a windowe, and the destinies beene fauourable vnto mee at that instant, I had not escaped with life: and not satisfied with that which was saide, he commaunded his garde to conduct him out of the court, and to garde and attende him vnto mount Celus, where the Pretorian bands were lodged, in ourminge that in the palace there was no safetie: for that his brother had attempted to murder him.

All men that heard the exclamation that Bassianus made, did beleue that all things had passed as he had said: and the Esquiers of the bodie did accompanie and attende him, vntil they had brought him amongst the Pretorians: and entring the tent where they had their armour and pendons, kneeling vpon his knees, hee gaue greates thanks vnto the Gods, that had preserved him vnto that place: and also vnto his garde, that had succoured him in time of so great neede. To beholde Bassianus go at suche an houre, with so greates heate, through the middell of Rome, and that with so great furie, all that beheld him were scandalized: and did imagine amongst themselves, that he had slaine his brother, or done some vile dede vnto his mother in lawe. As soone as he saue him selfe amongst the Pretorians, he diuided amongst them, two thousande & foue hundredeth drachmes of golde, according

Aa.iiiij.

to

to the weight of Athens further, promised to giue them
 verely, wheate to furnish their families, besides their or-
 dinarie wages. The same being divulgate throughout
 Rome, and the truth knowen of the great treason which
 Bassianus had committed, Geta his friends toynd to seeke
 him, with a determined purpos extremely to haue reuē-
 ged Geta: and as the matter was put to armes, and came
 to haude gripen. Geta his friends being the fewer in
 number, were soone ouercom: which although they were
 subdued, yet truely deserue no dispaire: being but fewe
 in number, seeing their Lorde dead, and Bassianus in pos-
 session of the armie, they wanted no hardinesse to fight, &
 no lesse courage to dye: but what shall we saye, but that
 if their quarell were iust, their fortune was verie crosse.
 Small aduantage it that the minde be generous, and the
 bodie warlike, if he that taketh armes be vnfortunate: for
 that one houre of happie fortune, is more woorth then
 all policies of warre. Greate was the compassion that
 all men conceiued of the cruell death of Geta, and no lesse
 was the hate which they did beare vnto Bassianus, not on-
 ly to kill him vppon so greate assurance, but also to mur-
 ther him in a place of so great priuiledge, that is to saye,
 within the sacred palace, & imbraced within the brestes
 of his mother. When Bassianus sawe that his brother
 Geta was dead, all his alies and seruants ouercome, &
 that whatsoeuer he had attempted with temeritie, suc-
 ceeded with great prosperitie: he went vnto the temples,
 and tooke from thence all their treasure, in such wise, he
 tooke away in one daye, that which manie princes had gi-
 uen in many yeres. A greate quantitie of these treasures
 Bassianus diuided amongst his Pretorians: who seeing
 themselves riche in money, and that their enemies were
 subdued, went into Rome, began to enter into the hou-
 ses, and killed all persons with whom they had kinde-
 nesse: but that which was moze obious, vppon wagers
 would kill a whole kinred, vntill they left no persons, in
 whome any remembrance might remaine.

Many

Many noble persons were determined to haue slaine Bas-
 sianus, in the beginning of his Empire: which they left not
 vndone for his deseruing, either for want of will, but for
 doubt that after his death, many should rise with the Em-
 pire: for presently they thought it lesse euill to suffer one,
 then to resist many.

Now when Bassianus sawe himselfe rich in treasure of
 the temples, and obeyed of the Pretorians, he determined
 to mount aloft vpon the high Capitol, and there to speake
 vnto the Senat: partly to giue accompt of that which was
 done, and partly to giue them to vnderstand what he would
 doe. Being placed in the middell of the Senate, and set in
 the imperiall chaire, and every man hving silence, he said
 after this manner.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Of a certaine speach vsed of Bassianus vnto
 the Senate, excusing himselfe of the
 death of his brother
 Geta.

Although in age I am but younge, and in mine at-
 temptes reputed as rash, yet I cease not to confesse
 that I am in great hatred with the people: and that my
 death should as much content them, as now my life is
 displeasing vnto them. And as princes are in the view
 of all persons, so are all their works iudged of all men:
 and from thence it procedeth, that their iust attempts
 are praised of many, but their errors condemned of
 all. They that presume to iudge the woorkes of prin-
 ces, are not alwayes so iuste, that they iudge continu-
 ally conformable vnto iustice: for as many times they
 praise the prince with lies: so it may happen, y they
 accuse them with malice. One of the extremest tra-

Aa.v

uels

uels that princes haue, is: that such as throng in themselves to talke of our liues, and to examine our deeds and actes, they talke not as we liue, but as we vse and deale with them: for if we honour & magnifie them, they report we be no princes, but gods: but if we chastise and bring them downe, they say wee be no men but furies. Many times princes do chastise many, not because we delight to punish, but y^e it so agreeth with the imperiall authoritie so to be done: for as with rewardes and pardons wee magnifie our pietie & clemencie; so it is couenient, that with rigorous chastisements, wee make our iustice to bee esteemed. Many presume to iudge the vices of princes, which if they were princes, would not onely commit thinges worthy of iudgement, but also iustly to be depriued of the Empire: for the knowledge of good gouernement, is not a thing that men obtaine of themselves: but a gift which the Gods do giue vnto whome they please.

There is no prince so absolute or dissolute, that at the least, in his gouernment desireth not to be iust: but what shall wee doe, that haue no more power but to wish to do well: and the gods onely to giue grace to gouerne well. But comming to the case now chaunced, for which the whole multitude with me be escandalized: I sweare by the immortall gods, y^e if the truth as it was were manifested, I should be found without blame: but I am of the one part so vnfortunate, and of th^e other part the multitude is so variable, that it many times happeneth, that of my manifest actes they say nothing: and of that which neuer passed my thought, they accuse me. O ye iust gods, vnto you all I appeale as witnesses: who first would haue kild y^e other, either whether my brother Geta would haue slaine mee, or
I would

I would haue slaine him: for ye well vnderstand, that being reposed on my bed, he entered vpon me with a naked sword: with which hee would haue drawne forth my soule, if by chaunce I had not found one at my beds head. If hee was the beginner of that quarrel, and that fortune would fauour me at that instant, wherefore, being viterly without any fault, should I be blamed of all persons in Rome? What greater testimonie would ye of my innocencie, but respecting that hee being the person that offended, and I the man that defended my selfe, the gods haue brought vpon him, that which hee ment to perforce on mee: neither in any good iudgement may it be contined, that if, by malice or enuie I would haue slaine my brother, that I should execute the same by stealth, and within the sacred palace, for that in so enorme a case, I deserued not so much chastisement for the deepe, as to committe the same in the place where that was done.

I will not denie, that vnto my brother I was not bound to honour him, loue him, succour him, and to deale well with him: but I will not confesse that I was bound, for all treasons and iniuries to suffer him: for as it is honourable for great princes, to dissemble & pardon iniuries, that are done to them by their inferiours: so necessarie is it for them to reuenge the discourtesies and displeasures, done vnto them by their betters or equals. It is notorious vnto al men, that in times past, many princes of the Romaine Empire had brethren, with whom they might not endure, but that many of them were slaine, or at the least driuen out of the Empire: for in fine, there is none of so great temperance, that in case of commaundement,
would

would haue a companion: no not his brother. Consider the behauiour of Remus and Romulus, Tiberius and Germanicus, Titus and Domitian, Marcus and Lucius, & others infinite that were brethren: amongst whome, vpon the point of commaundement and gouernement, there arose so great displeasures and vnkindnes: not as though they had bene natural brethren, but as most cruel enemies. O fathers conscript and friends, giue thanks vnto the Gods, that haue preserued your prince safe & sound: for that without cause they would not haue giuen him his death, and conserued my life: for the workes of our gods are so profound, secrete, and vnknowne, that although we see what they doe: yet wee see not the end why they do it. Amongest all the gods, onely Iupiter is he that hath dominion, and so amongst all men the god Iupiter would not, but that onely one should possesse the Empire: for it were no lesse monstrous to gouerne the Empire by two persons, then one body to haue two heads. If for all the Heauens, one God be sufficient, and for all Bees but one king, and all members be gouerned with one heart, & all birds haue but one guide: I demaund of you my friends, to gouerne the common wealth of Rome, if one man be not sufficient: As we haue read in bookes of our forefathers, and as we haue seene in our dayes, there is nothing more conuenient vnto the Romane Empire, as to be gouerned by one only person: for that we haue seene more warres raised, vpon which prince should commaund, then for any disobedience of subiects. Howe fierce warres were raised betwixt Silla & Marius, Caesar and Pompeie, Augustus and Marcus Antoninus, Galba and Othos, Othos and Bytellus, Bytellus and

and Vaspasianus: & now of late betwixt Seuerus my father, and Iulianus and Albinus. All these great calamities, whiche the miserable common wealth of Rome hath suffered, was not for that many would not be commaunded: but for that many would commaund. Admitting that my father commaunded in his testament, that Geta my brother and I should diuide the Empire: yet many doe know, & they are not fewe which presume, that he would neuer haue done it, but his wife and my mother in lawe constrained him so to assigne: and in a case so great, hard & graue, respect ought not to be giuen to that whiche hee did, but vnto that which he would haue done: because the magnificence of the Empire, and the wisdom of the Senate, ought not to be bound, to the procurement of a vaine woman: but vnto that which is most conuenient for the common wealth.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of the great crueltie of Bassianus, and of such as he commaunded to be slaine.

All the time that Bassianus vsed this speech vnto the Senate, no mā cut off his talk, or when he had finished, no person durst aunswere one word: but that he in ending his tale, beheld all his friends: & such as he suspected, he would not once looke vpon: wherof they remained not only despited, but also terrified: because the thing that the heart loueth, is seene and knowne by the vents and windowes of the eyes. Neither for that Bassianus had said in open place, either for any aduise of friends in secrete, did he cease to continue his cruelties: but that presently he commaunded to be slaine, not onely such as his brother Geta held for friends,

friends, but also the friends of his friends. He sue all the
 servants and officers of his brother, not only such as ser-
 ued him in the common wealth, but all such also, as serued
 him in all maner of vile things of his house: that is to say,
 cookes, butlers, caters, sweepers, moile keepers, turne spits,
 and boyes of the kitchen: at the death of whom, albeit both
 before and after he sue many: yet of none had they so great
 compassion in Rome as of those persons. Also he sue at his
 wagginers, all his hoyskeepers, all his bakers, all his laū-
 derers, all his musicians, al his taylers, finally, he sue all
 that his brother loued: and all such as did serue him. Hee
 sue all the Senatours and officers of Rome, that folowed
 the parcialtie of his brother Geta, and kilbe all Quæstors,
 Pretors, and valiant capitaines, throughout the Empire.
 He sue Lucilla, an excellent matrone of Rome, sister vnto
 the Emperour Commodus, and daughter vnto the great
 Marcus Aurelius, whome all Emperours past did honour
 as an Emperesse, and serued as a mother: and this was in
 such wise, that as any temple of Rome her house was pri-
 uiledged. The cause wherefoze they say, he sue the Lady
 Lucilla, was: for that, when she heard of the death of Geta,
 shee went vnto the Courte to comfort the mother, and be-
 wailed her sorrowe: whereof Bassianus being aduertised,
 said, Since Lucilla mourneth for the death of my brother
 Geta, with my mother in law: it signifieth that she would
 ioy of his life, and of my death: but I will liue, and she shal
 die. Also he sue many of the bestall virgins, some that he
 accused for breaking their virginittie: and others, for that
 they presumed to be virgins: saying it was a iest, to belue
 that any might liue and die a virgine in this life.
 He sue an ancient knight named Letus, which was at
 the death of Commodus: and also was acquainted with
 the death of Geta his brother. He sue Rufus a knight of
 Africa, and his nere kinsman, that is to say, his vnckles
 sennet, who at the euening did inuite him to supper, and in
 the morning commaunded to be slaine. He sue Pompeya-
 nus

nus the sonne of Lucilla, and nephue vnto Marcus Aureli-
 us, a man of great courage in warres, and venturous in
 armes, whome he commaunded to be slaine trauellling vpon
 the way, and cast forth report that theues had slaine
 him. Hee sue Papianus the learned Lawyer, who in those
 dayes was most famous in knowledge and counsell, that
 was in all the Romane Empire: and thus it passed, that
 Bassianus when hee came out of the Senate, did take Pa-
 pianus on his right hand, and all alonge st the streate layde
 his righte arme vpon his shoulder, vntill they came vnto
 the entrie of the house at the foote of the staire, where,
 with an axe, (such as they cleaue woode,) hee commaun-
 ded his head to be cut off.

Hee sue Petronius whiche had bene Consul, Sena-
 four, Quæstour, Pretor, Edil, and Flamen fourtie yeares:
 in all whiche time, hee neuer offended any man, either
 any person had complained of him: wherefoze hee was
 named the good Petronius. Hee sue Sarmonicus Sere-
 nus, whiche also was a Lawyer: and of this man it is
 said, that in eloquence hee was very sweete, and in wri-
 ting no lesse Satyricall.

Also hee sue a sonne of the Emperour Pertinax, na-
 med Elius Pertinax, who for a wonder was said in Rome,
 that in either woord or dede, it was neuer perceined in
 him, that euer in his whole life hee did so muche as bent
 for the Romane Empire: whiche was not a little to bee
 praised, and also meruailed: because sonnes naturally are
 not onely inclined to inherite their fathers goodes: but
 also to succede them in their honours. Furthermore,
 hee commaunded a notable Romane to be slaine, named
 Chilus, because hee had continually traueiled to make him
 friende wyth his brother Geta: whose presupposing that
 they came to kill him, stripte himselfe cleane oute of his
 apparell, and escaped oute at a certaine windowe of his
 house.

He killed his first wife, & daughter of Plantianus, which
 was exiled into Sicyl, & caused search to be made in Rome,
 and through

throughout the Empire, for al that were sonnes, cousins, uncles, nephues, or nere parentes vnto the bloud royall, all which he commaunded to be slaine, both men and women: because neither roote, bzanche, or memorie, should remaine of auncient or generous bloud. As well in Rome, as els where throughout the Empire, Bassianus commaunded many others to be slaine: but that which was moze cruell, the executioners had authoritie to take away their miserable liues, but not to burie their bodies, leauing them to the foules of the ayre: as for the noblest, they were carried in carres on heapes, and consumed with fire euen to ashes. He was not onely euill and cruell, but also did boast himselfe to be a friend of such as were noted to be euil & cruell: for they neuer heard him say well of any pzince past, but of Sulla the cruell, Brute the traitour, Catiline the tyzant, the Gracchies seditious, Domitian the defamed, and Commodus the dissolute. Gradly to accomplishe his cruelties, it chaunced on a certaine day, representing the Circen playes in Rome (vnto which feast an huge nūber of people were come to behold) that as the guide of the imperiall chariot, might not passe, because the streets were stoppt with multitudes of people, he began by force to make his way, and teare and treade the people: who made resistance for their safetie, adding thereunto wordes ouer furious, as people passioned. And as the Emperour then being placed in the same chariot, although they said no word to his offence, he receiued the cochemans iniurie as his owne: presently commaunding al his Pretorians which there did guard his person, to make slaughter at their libertie. And as al persons there present were moze deckt and trimmed for the feast, then armed, either in redinesse for battel: so great compassion was it to behold the multitudes of people that died there, without any offence, and sheading of bloud of so many innocents: for if tenne or twelue had offended, they were moze then 15. thousand that were there executed. The Romanes did neither eate, drinke, sleepe, or doe any thing, but with great trembling, not doubting when they should be

be accensed, but when Bassianus should commaunde them to be slaine: for neuer tyzant did execute that, which he ordinarily perfourmed in Rome: which is to meete, without any accusation of fiscall, or complaint of enemie, or wante of seruice, to commaunde any man to be slaine.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the prouinces whiche Bassianus did trauell,
and the thinges which he did therein,

After that Bassianus had slaine his brother Geta, and his enimies, as also manie of his friends, and infinite others y were neither friends nor foes: he departed from Rome, iourneying towarde Germanie, whiche now is named high Almaine: with determination to visite those prouinces, and to reforme his armies, whiche by continuance of peace, were growne to greate negligence in matters of warre. A whole summer hee lodged neare vnto the riuer of Danubie, where he exercised hunting, fishing, playing, running, forneying, and sometimes late in iudgmente: and a matter wherein he made all men to wonder, was, that in hearing anie cause at the instant, he gaue sentence wherein he neuer erred, and also iudgmente according to iustice. He had greate delactatio of that countrie, and the people of the same, makinge choyce of the valiantest and gallantest personages of the youthe of Germanie, for the garde of his person. The prouinces adioyning vnto Danubie being set in order, he passed into Thracia, and from thence into the lande of Macedonia: with determination to visite the natiue countrie of Alexander the greate. All thinges wherein the actes of Alexander were grauen or painted, hee repaired, renewed, and made better: & manie other thinges he did both adde and inuente, in such wise, that in al the kingdome of Macedonie there was neither citie or temple, where he did not erecte some edifice, or place some picture or counterfette.

Vbi.

Baf.

Balsianus performed manie notable things in Macedonia right woorthy praise, and some other things no lesse to be derided: because in manie places he caused a bodie with two heads to be painted and also grauen, whereof one he intituled vnto him selfe, and the other vnto Alexander. The Macedonians did not a little scorne this acte, that Balsianus woulde compare with the greate Alexander: for they esteemed their kinge in such possession and estate, that they say and affirme, neither anie in this life to be equall vnto him: either in the other woold surmounte of none of the Gods. Balsianus grew so proude, when he sawe him self so generally praised for his woorthy actes done in Macedonia, that he commaunded al his househoulde, not to call hym Balsianus, but Alexander: and commaunded al the captains of his armie, to intitle the selues wth the names of Alexanders auncient captaines: whereof the Romanes receiued no small grieffe, and al the aunciente seruants of his father were not a little disgraced: for it seemed vnto them, y since he did not trust them with the garde of his person, he woulde not loue them, either deale with them accordyng vnto his accustomed manner. Hee woulde ofte put off all his Romaine apparrell, and claddes him selfe after y Flemmish fashon: and further, the more aptly to resemble them, he woulde weare counterfeite red haire: and howe muche the more he vsed these thinges, so muche the greater was the grieffe vnto the Romaines. Also he obserued a custome, both in eating and drynking, in his apparrell and seruice, as in all other trauels which all wayes followe the warres, but as a common souldiour. It happened manie times, that if a trench were to be made, he firste woulde digge, carrie forth earth, marche on foote, grinde breade cozne for his owne diet, and bake it vnder the ashes.

Hee delighted in base lodging, to resemble the common souldiour, and woulde not drinke in golde or siluer, but in wooden tankards: finally, he did not onely abhorre all thinges that seemed superfluous: but also manie times,

thaq

that which was right necessarie.

Hee commaunded also, that none shoulde attende him, except he were commaunded, or call him Emperour, but companion: all which hee did to obtaine their loue, and to seeme admirable in his trauels. He commaunded his armie to be diuided into thre partes, and the one to be called Macedonike, the other Laconike, and the thirde Spartanike, in memoie of thre famous prouinces of Grecia, which folowed the greate Alexander in all his wars, and the people which he esteemed most valiaunt and warlike.

From Macedonie hee tooke his way vnto Pergamus, a famous citie in Asia, to vewe y temple of Esculapius: the father and founder of physicke, in which temple he slept manie nights: and as he afterwarde saide, receiued there manie answers of y God Esculapius, & many counsels, as well for conseruation of his health, as the gouernemente of his comon wealth. From Pergamus, Balsianus departed to the citie Ilion, that in times paste had bene head of the kingdome of Troy, where greate warres were long continued betwixt the Greekes and the Troyans, which hee founde not onelie destroyed, but also plowed and sowed. Balsianus did there greatly desire to burie some persone, after the fashon as in times past they had buried Patroclus: and for accomplishment of his desire, he commaunded popson to be giuen vnto Festus his priuate and fauoured seruant: whome, after he was deade, he buried there accordyng to the fashon which the Troyans used with Patroclus: which fact of his some excule, affirming that Festus died without Balsianus his commaundemente. Before y Balsianus entred high Almaine, he woulde visite Gallia Transalpina, & after a fewe dayes of his entraunce therin, commaunded y Proconsul of Narbona to be slaine: of which deade, as also of others which he executed he fel into y hatred of y comon people, & deserued y name of a tyrant. In his nauigatio fro Germanie into Asia, he found him self in so great danger, y y ship it selfe wherein he sailed

23 b.ii.

did

did rent & sinke, & he escaped in a litle barke. He was stricken with so greate feare on sea, that after he had escaped that daunger, he woulde oftentimes say: I knowe not what man hauing breade to eate, and garments to weare and couer him selfe on lande, woulde (to become an Emperour) go to Sea.

CHAP. IX.

Of an horrible crueltie that Bassianus committed in Alexandria.

After that Bassianus had seene the greate Iliou, and the moste parte of Asia and Bithynia, he came vnto the citie of Antioche, wher he was receiued wth great ceremonie: and all the time that he remained there, no lesse feasted. From Antioche he tooke his way into Alexandrie, with greate desire to see that famous citie, which the greate Alexander had builte: whereof the citizens beeing aduertised, they made moste solemne & costly preparation, wherewith to receiue him, which neuer had beene done to anie prince, either Greeke or Romaine: chiefly moued there vnto, because it was saide, that he was a friende vnto Alexander. Manie leagues befoze Bassianus came vnto the citie, they repaired the bridges, amended the high wayes, furnished all places with victuals, made manie summer houses with boughes, and scattered all the wayes with flowers: and further, all his traine did take all thinges at their owne pleasure, without paymente of anie money. But when he arrived in the citie, generally the Alexandrines came forth to receiue him, in moste gorgeous apparel, accompanied with instruments and manie kindes of musick. Presently at his entrie into Alexandrie, he went on foote vnto the temples: where he offered verie greate sacrifices, and burned therein great quantities of incense, myrrhe, aloes, and suche other fumes.

This beeing done, hee went to visite the sepulchre of the

the greate Alexander, where he vsed an imperiall magnificence, that is to wote, he put off a most rich robe wherewith he was clad, he tooke from his cappe a booch of greate price, a curious collar from his necke, from his breste a stone of value inestimable, and from his fingers all his rings: & kneeling vpon y^e ground did offer the same vpon the sepulchre of the greate Alexander. Incredible was the ioy that the Alexandrines conceiued, to behold a liuing prince of Rome, to haue a Greeke prince which was deade in so greate veneration: in respect wherof, they loued him with all their hartes, and serued him with all their power.

All whiche thinges Bassianus perfozmed, not of intente to honour Alexander, or to pleasure the Alexandrines: but with moze certintie to assure him selfe of them all, and afterwarde to kill them all. Manie dayes had past, since Bassianus had bozne greate hatred vnto the Alexandrines and the occasion of his unkindnesse was, because it was saide, that they scozned him with wordes, and also derided him in enterludes: saying, it was a scoffing matter for him to make cōparison wth Alexander, to name him selfe Achilles, and to imitate Hercules. Also Bassianus vnderstode howe they had muche despised him, for y^e death of his brother Geta, & laide their tounge vpon his owne mother, noting her vnchastitie: which iniuries hee wanted not skill to dissemble manie dayes, & after to reuenge the same at an instant.

Wherfore was thus: the feasts beeing finished, he commanded proclamation to be made, that al the lustie young men, either straungers, or natives of the countrie, shoulde muster in a fielde, to the ende he would see, beleeue, and also arme them after y^e olde manner: saying, that fro thence forth his will was, that al his men of warre shoulde fight, not after the order of the Romanes, but according to the fashion of the Greeces.

Great glozie, and also vaine glozie possessed the Alexandrines, when they hearde these proclamations: and

he that might soonest, came first into the fieldes: concerning that such as were the wordes of the crier, such should be the workes of the Emperour. All the youth of Alexandria remaining in the fieldes, Bassianus with all his armie in armour issued forth to beholde them, and he commaunded to bring them selues into a square, to send, that one by one, should passe before him, of whome he would take his choyce and presently after giue them armour.

Nowe when the miserable Alexandrines stood all as sheepe together vnarmed, Bassianus gaue a signe vnto his soldours, to giue the charge as vpon enemies: who in their slaughter made so great haste, that within an houre, those fieldes were all couered, not with flowers, but with dead bodie.

Great was the hurte that Bassianus committed that day vpon the Alexandrines: for that he lefte the widowes without sonnes, graundfathers without nephues, vnckles without cousines, brethren without brethren, and neighbours without friends: in such wise, that none remained that was not slaine, or else tormented with the death of others. The place where Bassianus committed this greates treason, and so inhumaine crueltie, was in a broad plaine fielde neare vnto the greates riuer Nilus: and the number was so greates of them which were slaine, that the bloude by streames ranne through those fieldes, and stayned and died that riuer Nilus: in such extreme manner, that that so statelie a riuer seemed not to runne with water, but with bloude. The Alexandrines may not be excused of their faulte, in speaking euill of Bassianus, defaming his mother, & representing his vile factes in enterludes. Admitting that of euill we can speake but euill, yet princes enter not into this reckoning, whose workes we haue licence to iudge onely in our hartes, but not with the tounge to blasphemie and despise them.

And albeit the offence of the Alexandrines was verie great, yea, though it had bene much greater, yet without comparison, muche more vehement was the crueltie that

Bass

Bassianus did execute on them: which if he had bene, as he ought to haue bene, the contrarie he would haue performed: for In the houses of heroycall and excellent princes, chastisement is giuen by ounces, and clemencie without measure.

CHAP. X.

Of a letter which Bassianus did write vnto the kinge of Parthians to haue his daughter in marriage.

It seemed vnto Bassianus, that to robbe temples, to sacke towne, to subuert walles, and to kill the whole neighbourhood of Alexandrie, was but a smal matter, in respect of his vile and cruell conditions wherewith he was inclined: and to this ende he determined to attempt so rare and odious a treason, y all men which should heare or reade thereof, might counte his crueltie past but a trifle. Euen as amongst such as be vertuous, one vertue awaketh another vertue: so amongst the wicked, one euill or mischiefe draweth with it another mischiefe: in such wise, that there are some persons so vowed vnto euill and mischiefe, that without delaie fall into the profunditie of all manner of vice and mischiefe. The case was thus, that Bassianus seeing himselfe in the Castle partes, had a desire to make a conquest of the Parthians: and for that he durste not make them warre openly, he remembred to deuise a treason for them in secrete. So much more vile was the facte, as small was the occasion which moued him to commit the same: for at that present the Parthians with the Romanes, & the Romanes with the Parthians, were in greates friendship, and confederacie.

Without aduice of parentes, friends, or counsellers, Bassianus sente a greates Ambassage vnto Arthabanus king of Parthia, sending also manie and rich iuels, and writinge with his owne hande a letter after this manner.

B b.iiii.

Bassia-

*Bassianus Antoninus, onely Em-
perour of the Romanes, to Arthabanus
the greate king of Parthians, health,
and good fortune.
(. .)*

The famous auncient Romanes, and many of the principall of my predeceffours, came from the West into Asia, onely to make warre vpon this thy kingdome: but I come not to make thee warre, but to seek peace, and to this peace, both thou & I haue to search a meane, that it may be perpetuall: for otherwise, a iust warre were more safe for princes, then a fayned peace. As wee read in bookes, and heare of our forefathers, there is not a more briefe and sounde waye, for greate enemies to growe to bee faithfull friendes, then by recouering newe aliance by the waye of marriage: for in true and faithfull marriages, as the married be ioyned in bodies: so be they lincked and confederate in heartes and mindes. Although some Princes haue married with the daughters of Consuls and Senatours, and admitting they haue so done, I will not so doe: for that I was borne a prince, and am a prince, and will dye a prince: wherefore, I will not marrie but with the daughter of a Prince. When congruently or aptly it may be done, it agreeth not with the maiestie of the Empire, that the Prince this day should holde him for his father in lawe, whome he helde yesterday for his vassall. Although the wiues of Princes vse not to commaunde and gouerne, yet we must graunt, that when

Princesses

Princesses be the daughters of high Princes, and descended of royall bloud, the people and subiectes are more honoured, satisfied, and pleased: and such bring forth children more noble and generous. The Empire of the Romanes, and the Empire of the Parthians, are two the moste renoumed Princes throughout the whole worlde: for, notwithstanding the one at times hath subdued the other: yet neuer intirely had the one lordship of the other. I am prince of the Romanes, and thou art Prince of the Parthians: if thou wilt marrie thy daughter with mee, with greate good will I would matche with her: and after this manner, of two diuided Empires wee shall make one in concorde. These two Empires beeing ioyned, may there be any kingdome that will disobey them: or any king that shall dare to laye against them? I demaunde not thy daughter for her beautie, for there are others muche fairer in mine Empire: neither doe I request her for thy richesse, for I haue sufficient, neither doe I craue her, to recouer more vassals: for I haue kingdomes ynough subiecte vnto mee. But I do it, because of auncient enemies, wee might frame our selues immortal friends: in such wise, that as hitherto we haue had you in contempt, as barbarians, from henceforth wee shall behaue our selues as brethren.

Thinke not that I write this vnto thee, by thy fauour to be reuenged of mine enemies: or, for that my kingdomes haue rebelled against mee (as thou shalte vnderstande by these mine Ambassadors) which my father lefte vnto mee so plaine, and their Princes so dedicated to obedience, that they doe not onely accomlishe what I commaunde them, but

Bb.v. also

also request mee to iaioyne them more.

If in this which I write to thee, thou thinkest there be deceipte, thou oughtest also to conceiue, that I shalbee most decciued: partely, for that beeing (as I am) a Romane Prince, and partely, because I am the person whiche sueth: for that in this marriage thou aduenturest not more then thy daughter: but I committe vnto Fortune, mine honour, goods, and person. Herein I will saye no more, but I praye thee to receiue these iewelless, which I sende thee in good parte: and to that which mine Ambassadors shall saye, giue credite.

The king of the Parthians, after he had read this letter, and hearde the Ambassadors what they had to saye in the behalfe of Balsianus, did aunswer him after this manner.

CHAP. XI.

Of another solemne letter, wherein the king of the Parthians aunswered Balsianus.

Arthabanus, king of the auncient
kingdome of the Parthians, to Antonius Balsianus, the onely Roman Emperour,
health, & prosperitie,

Before

Before all thinges, I giue thanks vnto the immortal Gods, because they haue put into thy heart, that which thou hast written: and that which thou with thy Ambassadors hast sent to saye vnto vs. By that which I haue read in thy letters, and hearde of thy Ambassadors, I knowe that thou beleenest in the Gods, and hast not taken counsell of men: for men alwayes giue counsell vnto Princes to make warre: but the Gods alwayes persuaide them to keepe peace. Thou sayest that the Romane Princes, thy predecessours, alwayes passed into Asia, with a minde determined to make warre with the Parthians: but ioyntly herewith, I would thou shouldest consider, that as the warre which ye tooke in hand against vs was vniust, so fortune was vnto them, alwayes vnfurnate: for it is not the will of the Gods, that by an vniust warre, an entire victorie should be obtained. Ye Romanes tooke the enterprise to be Lordes of the whole worlde: and to prosecute the same, ye rigged forth many nauies and fleetes, ye ioyned greate armies, conquered straunge prouinces, destroyed many kingdomes, killed much people, robbed infinite treasures, and aduentured your selues into great and immeasurable daungers: and in the ende, that which they had obteyned, they lost; yea, the conquerours also lost them selues: because, whatsoeuer is gotten to the preiudice of another man, is lost to the greate hurte & offence of him that obtained the same. That which thou promistest in thy letter, and in thy name thy Ambassadors offer mee, I am not onely bound to accepte, but also deserued greate displeasure, if I durst denie the same: because it is a thinge moste iuste, that the Goddes make warre vpon
that

y^e prince, which refuseth the request of men in peace. Thou sayest that the chiofest meane to cōfirme peace is, for princes to practise marriage betwixt theselues. I denie not, but that in some persons it is moſte true, but it is no generall rule for all men: for we daily ſee betwixte moſte neare kinred and alies, moſte greate quarelles and ſcandals to ariſe. My greate graund-father was father in lawe vnto kinge Arſacidas, and afterwarde the one ſlewe the other in y^e ſielde: and y^e verie ſame we heare reported to haue chaunced amongſt you: Pompey married with the daughter of Iulius, and afterwarde Iulius ouercame and deſtroyed Pompey his ſonne in lawe: in ſuche wiſe, that the marriages which they made to conſerue peace, did awake and inflame them to more cruell warre. The Prince that hath feare of the Goddes, and is natural-lye giuen to peace, may not finde a better meane to obtaine the ſame, the to be quiet in his owne realme: for, ſpeakinge the verie trueth, the prince that is ſatisfied with his owne proper eſtate, needeth not to ſeek affinitie in ſtraunge kingdomes. Vnto my father were offered greate, noble, and mightie mariages frō ſtraunge kingdomes: whereunto he woulde neuer conſente, either hardely indure to heare thereof: and woulde ofte ſay vnto me, that manie kinges and kingdomes he had ſcene loſt by mariage in ſtraunge countries, and therefore woulde not marrie me, but within his owne kingdome: and ſaide, at the houre of his death, that if I woulde liue manie yeares in peace, I ſhoulde not abandon my children to ſtraunge marriages.

I had three ſonnes, whiche now be all deade, and there remaineth vnto me but only one daughter,
in

in whome remaineth all my hope: and if the Gods would, and my deſtinies permitte, I woulde giue her an huſbande within mine owne naturall countrie, whome I might eſteeme as my ſonne, and he me as his father: for my intent, is, not to giue her an huſband that hath much goods, but in his perſon greate worthineſſe.

To that which thou ſayeſt, of the kingdoms of Parthians, & the Empire of Romanes, would do verie wel to be ioyned in one: thou haſt great reaſon in that which y^e ſayeſt, if it might be done with as great facilitie, as it is ſpoken: but how is it poſſible they may be made one, being (as they are) ſo ſtrange in nation? ſo diſtant in ſituation? ſo diſtinct in language? ſo diuers in lawes? and aboue all the reſt, ſo contrarie in conditions? Since betwixt you and vs, there are ſo manie landes, countries, nations, hills, and ſeas: howe is it poſſible, the bodies beeing ſo diſtante, that the harts may be vnited? Wee are much better knowne vnto the Godds, then wee knowe our ſelues: and ſince they haue created vs, and ſeparated vs, the one from the other: howe is it poſſible for vs to liue, and enioy together? for by greate diligence that men may uſe, either power that princes may practiſe, it is impoſſible for them to ſcatter that, whiche the Godds do gather together: or to ioyne that whiche they do ſeparate.

If thou wilt haue men for thy warres, I wil ſende them! If thou wilt haue money to enrich thy treaſure, I will furniſhe thee! If y^e wilt enter peace with mee, I will graunte it! If thou wilt that wee be brothers in armes, by othe I will confirme it! Finally, I excepte nothing betwixte thee and mee, but that thou
do

do not craue my daughter to wife: I am determined, & wil not, for giuing my daughter a good marriage, leaue my countrie tributarie vnto straunge people. The precious iuells and greate riches which thou sentest me, I haue receiued with greate good will, and I sende thee others, although not such, either so riche: neuerthelesse thou mayest alwayes cōceiue by them, that the kinges of the Parthians, haue greate treasures in their keeping, and no lesse noblenesse of minde to spende them. No more, but the Goddes be thy defence, and that thou of me, and I of thee may see good fortune.

CHAP. XII.

Howe Balsianus committed a greate treason
against the Parthians.

This letter being receiued by Balsianus, he made semblance of greate sorrowe, that the kinge of Parthians would not giue him his daughter to wife: howbeit, he ceased not therefore effsones to write, & sende more presents, to bringe to passe by importunities, that which of will he might not frame. Arthabanus considering the importunities of Balsianus in writinge, and his largesse in sending more riche iuells, not doubting y^e anie guile might be concealed in that marriage, did yealde him selfe vnto the iudgmente of his friendes: who counselled him, that hee shoulde not in anie wise, but accept the Emperour of Romaines for his sonne in lawe: for it might be, that hee shoulde recouer him for an enimie, that would not accept him for a sonne. The same heeing spread throughout all Asia

Asia, that the kinges daughter shoulde marrie with the Emperour of Rome, Balsianus aduised to repaire and prepare with all speede: so that in all citiees of the Parthians where he passed, they did not only not resiste him, but with greate ioy did receiue and feast him: for they helde it for great baine glozie, to see their princeesse demanded for wife by the great Emperour of Rome. In all places where Balsianus passed, he offered riche sacrifices in their temples, and gaue greate rewardes vnto suche as did attende and receiue him: all whiche he dissembled, to escape suspicion of the exceeding malice, whiche he determined to execute. Balsianus beeing arriued at the greate citie Parthinia, where most times the greate kinge of Parthians was resident: Arthabanus issued forth to receiue his sonne Balsianus, who most truly ranne forth, as cōformable vnto peace, as Balsianus readie and determined for the warres. There issued forth with kinge Arthabanus, not only the noble and valiaunt personages of his house and courte, but also all the men of power and wealth of his kingdome, which against that day were called and did attende: in such wise, y^e by his traine y^e kinge discovered his valure, as also the noblenesse of his people. Nowe when the Parthians beganne to ioyne with the Romaines, and of both partes greate courtesies offered, Balsianus gaue a signe vnto his armed knights, to giue a charge vpon the Parthians, vpon whome they executed as greate a slaughter, as Hanibal at Canalle, and Scipio at Carthage. The kinge Arthabanus as he came in the troupe of all his royaltie, tooke his seruants horse, and gaue him selfe to flight: and then as it was night, & his horse verie swift, he had leasure to escape with his life; although not able to defende his countrie.

This beeing done, he sackt the royall palace, and all the citie, and after commaunded fire to be giuen to all partes thereof, whiche he performed in all citiees where he passed, all the time that he remained in Parthia: and freely gaue licence vnto his armie, to take what they might, & to kill whome they would. This was y^e manner y^e Balsianus

Bassianus used, to subdue the Parthians: which conquest with more reason may be termed & inuention of a trayfour, then the conquest of an Emperour: for the innocent Parthians were rather solde, then overcome. At the presente when these thinges passed, Bassianus did write vnto the Senate: aduertisinge them that hee had subdued all prouinces and kingdomes of the East vnto the Romaine Empire: some by force, and others by good will: and that although the Romaine princes, his predecessours, did excede him in yeares and riches: yet not to be comparable vnto him in victories. The Senate being ignozante of the greate treason of Bassianus practised against the Parthians (because they receiued his letters, befoze anie other messenger had made repozte thereof) were verie ioyfull, and made greate feastes in Rome, placing his counterseit vpon all the gates of the cite: but after they vnderstoode the truth of the treason committed, they were so muche grieved with that so vile a deede, that if the Parthians did suffer, the Romanes did bewaile.

CHAP. XIII.

How Bassianus was slaine by the commaundement of his priuate captaine Macrinus.

The Emperour Bassianus being departed from the territories of Parthia, came vnto the prouince of Mesopotamia, which was in the moneth of October: and beinge full of woodes wherein were bred manie wilde beastes, he would remaine in the thickest thereof: for that he was more giuen to chase in mountaines, then to halke in fieldes.

The captaines of Bassianus armie were two Romanes, named Audentius, and Macrinus. Audentius was a rusticall person, as concerning maters of & comon wealth: but verie expert & valiaunt in warrelike affaires. Macrinus

contrarywise, in gouerning the common wealth, was wise and skilfull: but in martiall affaires, some what negligent, and not ouer fortunat. Bassianus did like very well of Audentius, and no lesse euill of Macrinus, and did not only wishe, but also said of him much euill: murmuring that hee was negligent, a coward, bitious, an epicure, a glutton that did eate much, and drinke not a litle: and that at his comming to Rome, he would remoue him from all charge in matters of warre. Macrinus was a man very wel learned, and in his speach no lesse reformed: and in all thinges that they said vnto him, touching that which Bassianus should speake of him, he answered: that whatsoeuer his god lord had said of him, was spoken of great affection, not to the end to defame him as an enimie, but to correcte him as a sonne. Although Macrinus used this speach openly, yet he had other matter in his hart secretly, as after wards in the successe of affaires it manifestly appeared: for, at such time as Bassianus would haue remoued Macrinus from his honour and estate, Macrinus dispatched him of his life.

The case was thus, that Bassianus being inclined of his owne proper nature, to knowe secretes, not onely of men, but also of Gods, and diuels, alwayes fearing himselfe, that by practise of some treason, they would take away his life, hee was neuer void of the conuersation of Sorcerers, sothslayers, and inchanters, to aduertise him how long hee should liue, and what death hee should die. Not satisfied with such Magicians, sothslayers, sorcerers, and inchanters, as did attend on his person in the warres, hee would send vnto the Prefect of Rome named Maternianus, to whome Bassianus committed the credite of his secretes: writinge a letter vnto him with his owne proper hande, commaunding him, with great diligence and secrecie, to assemble Magicians, Sorcerers, Sothslayers, Inchanters, and Astrologians, to knowe of them, not onely how long he should liue, and how he should die: but also to demand of them, if there were any person within the Empire, that

Cc.

desired

desired or procured to be Emperour. *Maternianus* performed all that, which his Lord *Bassianus* had written unto him: whether it were any magician or sothfayer that said it, either any enemy of *Macrinus* finding opportunitie for his purpose: *Maternianus* did write and aduertise *Bassianus*, that he had assembled all the sozerers, inchanters, diuiners, magicians, sothefayers, astrologians and augurs: and that the resolution of their counsell was, that if hee would enioy his Empire, it were conuenient that *Macrinus* were slaine. At the instant when the post returned wth his letters from Rome, *Bassianus* was placed in his coche, to go forth on hunting: & not remēbying what he had written, either presuming what might be writtē, said vnto *Macrinus*, that he should open and read them all: and if that he found therein matter of great importance, to consult therein: and al other smal matters, that he himselfe should prouide answer, and dispatch. *Macrinus* reading these letters, as wel such as were written vnto *Bassianus*, as vnto himselfe, came also to read the letter of *Maternianus*, wherein he aduertised *Bassianus* of the answer which the magicians had giuen him, which is to say, that presently it were conuenient that *Macrinus* should be put to death: whereof he was not a litle abashed, holding it for great good hap, that this secrete had chaunced into his onely handes, befoze any other person: for, at the instant that *Bassianus* might haue read this letter, he would haue commaunded *Macrinus* his head to flie from his shoulders. *Macrinus* doubting, that *Maternianus* might returne to write of the former matter vnto *Bassianus*, and that, were it but for concealing that letter, hee would shorten him by the shoulders, aduised to practise the death of *Bassianus*, befoze he should experiment the same on him. Amongest them that garded the person of *Bassianus*, there was one *Martianus*, who accordingly had a brother also of his guard (him for a small displeasure *Bassianus* commaunded to be slaine) and with *Martianus* used words of great despite: in such maner, that *Martianus* wth those words remayned disgraced, & of his brothers death

grieved

grieved and afflicted. After *Macrinus* vnderstode this passion to reigne in *Martianus* against *Bassianus*, hee first entered with him in familiaritie, and gatte him silver and gold, receiued him into his friendship, and euery day lead him into remembrance of the vnjust death of his brother: to the ende hee should not growe cold, but hote in hatred against *Bassianus*. Now when *Macrinus* felt, that by his benefits he had recovered *Martianus* for his faithful friend, and brought him into great disdaine and mortall hatred of *Bassianus*, he grew to composition to depriue him of his life, for which deede, his reward should be great: whereof *Martianus* did take great delight, and bound himselfe to performe the same: partly to reuenge the death of his brother, as also to condescend vnto the request of his friend *Macrinus*. *Bassianus* being resident in *Careuca* a citie of *Mesopotamia*, came forth to visite a temple of the Goddess *Luna*, two miles distant from the citie: and being constrained vpon the way, to vburden his bellie, hee entered the thickest of the couert, accompanied but with one seruant: and *Martianus* that attended but opportunitie to accomplishe his promise, entered vpon *Bassianus* being withdrawen into the thickest of the shrubs, prosecuting his necessitie alone, *Martianus* strake him with a launce downe flat vpon the ground: which wound was so mortall, that without moze woordes, or strength to moue, where the launce went in, the life came out. After that *Martianus* had slaine *Bassianus*, he toke his horse and fled: but as the imperiall guard was at hand, within a leage he was overtaken, and slaine with launces: in such wise, that after hee had taken reuengment of his enemy, he enioyed his life but one hour. This was the end of the unhappie Emperour *Bassianus*, whose life did merite a slaunderous death: for that it was not vnreasonable, that he which had kild so many friends, by treason should be slaine with enemies,

¶ How Macrinus excusing himselfe of the death of Bassianus, did aduance himselfe with the Empire.

On the selfe same day that Antoninus Bassianus was bozne, which was the eight of Aprill, he was slaine, ciiiij. yeares of his age being accomplished, and vij. yeares of his Empire and reigne expired. The first man that came vnto him after he was slaine, was Macrinus, who betwailed his death with so great dissimulation, as if he had not bene the mā that procured so vile a deede. Macrinus was right fortunat that Martianus was slaine when hee was taken: for all men thought and also said, that Martianus had slaine his Lord Bassianus, not by inducemente of any person, but to reuenge his brothers death. Many others were of this conspiracie besides Macrinus, that ordeyned it, and Martianus that sought y same: y is to say Nemesianus & his brother Apolinarius, Renonius & Agrippa, al which had swozn his death: some for iniuries which they had receiued, & others for seruice unrecompenced. Presently vpon Bassianus his death, Macrinus commaunded his body to be burnt, and his ashes to be placed in a coffin of gold: & so with great gard, and no lesse accompanied, hee sente the same vnto Iulia his mother in law, being then at Antioch: who at the instante when she vnderstoode Bassianus to be dead, dranke a litle poison, wherewith she finished her life. The case stāding in this estate, newes arriued at the Romaine campe, that Arthabanus king of Parthians pursued Antoninus Bassianus, to execute vengeance for the iniurie which he had receiued: and to the same end, the king & his knightes, befoze they came to the field, made a vowe vnto their Gods, neuer moze to returne with life, befoze they had slaine the Emperour Bassianus. The Romanes beheld themselves in great confusion, on the one parte, finding themselves in so straunge a Countrie without

out hope of succour, and also for the death of their prince and their enimie so nere at hand: to repaire and remedie which mischiefe, with great diligence they elected a prince named Audentius, a man of honest life, and of great experience in the warres: which he refused, alledging for himselfe, age and sicknesse: and that of his election hee might not gather but trauel & offence vnto the common wealth. Two dayes was the armie without an Emperour, and in the end vpon Audentius his refusall, they elected Macrinus for Emperour, which election did rather proceed of necessitie, then of will: because their Parthian enimies were very nere, & the two thie persons of the Empire very farre. Aboue we made mention of Iulia, the mother in law vnto Bassianus: this Ladie being a widowe, and resident in the Court, in the summer time Bassianus beheld her at a feast, as she was, halfe naked, and inflamed with her loue said vnto her these words, If it were possible to renounce this name mother, which I owe thee: from henceforth I would call thee wife. Iulia answered: If thou wilt, thou mayest, because princes haue authoritie to make lawes, but are not bound to obserue them. And as in Bassianus loue did as bound, so finding in Iulia a readie minde, presently he married with her: in such wise, that vnto patricide he added incest: that is to say, that hauing slaine his brother Geta, also he married his fathers wife.

Bassianus naturally was euil inclined: and if his father were cruell, he was most cruell: in eating disordinate, in drinking intemperate: for many times in his excesse of drinke, he would talke at large. From his infancie he was hated of all persons, no lesse of his owne, then of strangers, the Pretorian knightes onely excepted: which was not for the benefites, that of him they had receiued: but for the libertie which he gaue them to robb and steale. Some notable buildinges hee erected in Rome, especially certaine stately bathes, which hee named after his owne name, in both and cariousnes exceeding all workes and buildinges in Rome. He made also a gate in Rome, & called it Scueriana;

in the reuerence of the name of his father Seuerus: wherein he caused to be grauen al the victozies and triumphes that his father had obtained, either after or befoze he was Emperour. Hee was the first that brought vnto Rome the image of the Goddess Isis: vnto whome he edified a sumptuous temple, and therein did constitute priestes. He left no child either legitimate or not legitimate, but Heliogabalus, whom he had by a neece of his mother Iulia, of whom we will speake in the hystorie following.

The life of the Emperour Heliogabalus, compiled by sir Anthonie of

Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counsellor vnto the Emperour Charles the fift.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the lineage and nouriture of the Emperour Heliogabalus.

The second wife of Seuerus was named Iulia, which was mother vnto Geta, and mother in lawe vnto Bassianus: this Iulia, when she was married vnto Seuerus, brought vnto Court with her an elder sister, named Mesia, a woman of proportion sufficient faire and comely, but of condition very wilie. This Mesia had with her two daughters, whereof the elder was named Semiamira, and the yonger Manea: both bozne in the Emperour Seuerus his Courte, and bred and nourished a long time after in the house of the Emperour Bassianus. The writers of those times do not name, who was the husband of Mesia, and the father of Semiamira, of

of Manea: and therefore doubted to be conceived in adulterie, or that the father was of lineage obscure.

Mesia remayning in the Court of Seuerus with her two daughters, being young & very faire, Bassianus the sonne of Seuerus had accesse vnto Semiamira, and begate of her a sonne named Antoninus Caracalla: and for the loue of Iulia his aunt, and also to the end the damosell should not be despised in the sighte of Seuerus, the graundmother used so great skill in this busines, that no person of the Courte might perceiue the daughter to be with child, or brought a bed: or whether y child was put forth to be nourished. The auncient lineage of this woman Mesia, was of Phoenicia, & bozne she was in a citie called Mesania, nere vnto whiche place (in times past) a battell had bene fought, betwene y Rhodians and the Phoenicians. Antoninus Caracalla on the fathers side, was sonne vnto the Emperour Bassianus, and on the mothers side sonne of Semiamira: and conceived in adulterie. When y child was five yeares of age, he was brought vnto the Courte, and there bred & nourished with the mother and graundmother: but all the dayes that Bassianus liued, they neuer durst say that it was his sonne: because Iulia his aunt and mother in lawe to Bassianus, had married with the selfe same Bassianus: and if she had knowne the child to be such, she would haue slaine it, banished her syster, & sent away her sister. This woman Mesia was so wise, & prouident, that in the reigne of Seuerus, at Court all men did serue her, & after in the dayes of Bassianus shee commaunded and gouerned all thinges at her owne pleasure: and this was in such extreme wise, y with her he did take counsel for the affaires of the common wealth, and shee did alwayes accompanie him, whither soeuer he went out of Rome, although it were vnto the warres. This Mesia was frank of speach, & of no great reformation of life, howbeit very skilful in al things which she aduentured to take in hand: for, notwithstanding al men had of her great suspicio, yet they were sewe y attened vnto her secreete visits. Although on the one part, she was accused to be lewd & loose

of life, yet on the other shee was praised, because shee was very wise in all thinges wherein she gaue counsell: which most clearely appeared, for that in the 16. yeares in which she remained in the Courte and manours of those princes (who by her iudgement and opinion were gouerned) shee was neuer seene to twise or reproue any person with her tongue: or giue counsel in any thing that offended the common wealth. Being (as she was) sister vnto Iulia the Emperesse, and so accepted with those princes, this Mesia was marvellous riche: and the cause thereof was, that all good thinges which were vacant in the Empire she craued, and whatsoeuer was giuen her shee receiued. The second daughter of this Mesia, named Manca, married with a Consul named Verius, and brought him forth a sonne, then named Alexius, but afterwards Alexander the Emperour: in such wise, that this Mesia had one sister, an Emperesse: & saue her two nephues Emperours. Mesia doubting that some day it might come to the notice of Iulia her sister, that Antoninus Caracalla was the sonne of her husband Bassianus, aduised to send both her nephues vnto her owne proper countrie of Phoenicia, there to hold them more safe, and better taught. In the prouince of Phoenicia was a most sumptuous temple, dedicated vnto the God Heliogabalus, the workmanship whereof was wrought all of sauen stone, as if it had bene timber, in the ioyning whereof their appeared no seame, but all men iudged (that knew not that secrete) that the whole temple had bene made of one stone. There was not in that temple, as was in other temples, which is to wit, any image or simulachre of any God: but that which it conteyned, was a blacke shining stone, great & large beneath, and vpiwards more narrow, where in was grauen the Sunne and the Moone, right curiously & subtilly, which in vew and beholding did dazill the eyes of men. The people of Phoenicia did report, that the temple was made by mans hand, but the stone was sent by the Gods from heauen: for which cause they offered vpon the same, silver, gold, iewels, and other great riches: and it was

was visited, not onely by the natives of Phoenicia, but also from many partes of Asia.

In that temple, there were not onely priestes, but also Philosophers: to the ende that some should sacrifice, and others teache and reforme maners: because that temple was indued with so great riches, that there was sufficient both for the one & the other. Heliogabalus being of 8. age of xiii. yeres, and his cousin Alexius of the age of twelue yeares, their graundmother Mesia placed them in that temple, to enure them to offer sacrifices, & to learne Philosophie. These two brethren went apparailled after the manner of two Priestes, which is to wete, in Shirtes of Linsey wolsey, their garments of gold and cotton, their sleeves buttoned with Corrall, their robes trailing, their heades couered with silke calles, about their neckes collars of golde, their feete bare vpon the instep, leaden ringes vpon their little fingers, and ringes of golde vpon their thumbes: but aboue all the rest, they might not eate, but in their houses: either sleepe but in their temples. And because Antoninus was Priest, and brought vp in the temple of the God Heliogabalus, that is to saie, a Priest of the Sunne, he was afterwards named Antoninus Heliogabalus: and also many dayes after that he was exalted vnto the height of the Empire, he kepte the garments, and receiued the stipend of his auncient priesthood. Heliogabalus was of meane stature, redde haired, white faced, small mouthed, short legged, and largely bearded: and as at that time he was young and faire, and his sacerdotall vestmentes did so adourne him: although the secrete of his parentage was vnknown, yet all men presupposed that he was of noble blood.

CHAP. II.

¶ Howe capitaine Macrinus did exalt him selfe with the Empire, after the death of Bassianus.

Cc. v.

After

After that Martianus had slaine Bassianus his sonne, through the counsell of Macrinus, presently he exalted him selfe, or (to saye better) did tyrannize the Empire: neuerthelesse, the armies elected him, and the Romanes allowed him: not because they were pleased with Macrinus, but for to see them selues free and deliuered of Bassianus.

So generall was the ioye amongst the Romane people, to see Bassianus dead, that they cared not to consider of Macrinus that should succede, whether he were good or bad: because, heartes that be tormented, and men that be despighed, when they hap to oppresse their enemies, consider not so much of their profite, as they respect their reuengement. Tenne dayes after Macrinus sawe him selfe Emperour, Arthabanus king of the Parthians gaue him battell, to reuenge the iniurie which Bassianus had done vnto him: this battell betwixt both partes was so contended and so bloodie, that the victorie on that daye remained on neither side: yet least was the losse vnto the Romanes. Arthabanus being aduertised of the death of his enimie Bassianus, and his choler also somewhat abate, made peare with the Romanes, and with his armies retired into his countrie. After Macrinus behelde him selfe elected, and confirmed Emperour, and king Arthabanus returned vnto his kingdome, and that in all Asia, not so much as a lance in the rest against him, he departed to the citie of Antioche: not of any intent to reforme his armie, but of purpose totally to bolue him selfe vnto vice and filthinesse.

The case was thus, that being settled in Antioche, he gaue hede vnto no other matter, but to the vse of the Bathe, trimming his head, annoynting his bearde, going on hunting, prosecuting gluttonie and excesse, giuing him selfe vnto women: and that which was worst, he fledde from affaires, and followed vices.

When at any time Macrinus did issue forth, to viewe his

his men of warre, he walked not with a lance, but with a Caane in his hande, which they helde for no small iniurie: for that amongst them it was a lawe, that none might passe through their bandes except he were armed, with some armour.

It was a lawe much vsed and obserued amongst the Romanes, that their Princes did neuer enter armed into the Senate, either vnarmed did viewe their Campes and armies: since in the one they did manage matters of peace, and in the other nothing but warres. Macrinus heard by reposte, that the good Marcus Aurelius spake sildome, and with lowe voice: and so he vsed for resemblance to aunswere suiters, with selue woordes, and berie base: in such wise, that in his speache he did imitate Marcus Aurelius, and in his life did resemble Nero. With none of the Antiochians, either with any person of all Asia, did he consent to haue conference, or to be serued at his table, either enter into his chamber, or sleepe in his house: but after the manner of a tyrant, with his owne he stode vpon his garde, and with straungers not a little suspicious.

Auncient persons, his olde hofemen, and the Capteines of his armies, he woulde not commaund to stande vpon, although they had long continued vpon their knees: either to put on their cappes, when they stode bareheaded: wherein, the Romane Princes alwayes vsed grea measure and consideration: for that curtesie costeth little, and profiteth much.

The money which Macrinus receiued of his rents, or were presented him from the cities, he consumed them all in vices: and on the other parte, he woulde neither paye what he owed, or succour his men of warre: in suche wise, that the people stode in despaire, and the armies (for want of paye) no lesse despighed.

The Romanes were afflicted with no small griefe, to beholde the tyrant Macrinus in all his doings and attempts, and to see howe the Asians despised him: for they

frankly

frankely saide, that he did not inherite, but they did electe him Emperour: and their fact to be imputed with greater indignitie, that had chosen a person of so great vnworthinesse. In his apparell, in his diet, and in all his manners and fashions, Macrinus would needes imitate, not the Romanes, but the Asians: which the Romanes receiued with great grieve, and the Asians with no lesse ignominie: for that so euil a person would needes resemble the. For so muche as there were no warres in Asia, or in all the East, either by Sea or lande, the Romanie armies would haue returned to Rome, but Macrinus would not consent: doubting (as they were discontented) that they should ioyne with the Senate, and determine to depose him from the Empire. Macrinus was muche blamed, for that he stayed to go to Rome: and much moze, for want of pay vnto his men of warre: for that many times, soze hurt redoundeth to Princes by holding their armies discontented, then to encounter their armed enemies. In very short space Macrinus had recovered most all hatred of his armies: of the one parte, to be so absolute a tyrant, and on the other parte, to be in vice so dissolute, and also so much puffed up with pride: for that he seemed to extoll himselfe by commaunding, and loathed and despighed with sutties of his subiectes. Macrinus was a man of a lowe stature, quarrelous, ambitious; and also couetous: but toynly herewith, he was valiant in the field, and yet would seeke great meanes to liue in peace: notwithstanding all these conditions, both good and euil, they would neuer haue taken away his life and Empire, if he had not bene nummed with the vices of Asia.

CHAP. III.

¶ Howe the great matrone Mesia bought the Empire for her nephue Heliogabalus.

In

In the time that Macrinus was resident in Antioche, the Romane hosts, were in defence of the prouince of Phoenicia: because in that yere, that countrie did abound in grain for bread, and the people also were not fatigat or spent with warres. We haue said, how in that countrie, there was a temple dedicated vnto the God Heliogabalus: which in buildings was verie magnificent, and of priests much populated. Many Romane captaines, went many times to visite that temple: some to see, some to pray, and some to offer sacrifices: for that, naturally, the Romanes presumed to be great worshipers of their gods, and to hold their temples in singular reuerence. Ther was in those daies, in those temples, two young priestesses first cousins: one of which was named Heliogabalus, and the other Alexius: these yong men, in their bestments which they did weare, and in their life which they did leade, were iudged to be priestesses: one the other part, they well seemed by their grauitie, to be the sonnes of princes. The matrone Mesia was so discreet, secret, and aduised, that the children being of the age of fiftene yeres, neither them selues, or any other for them, did either knowe, or suspect, who were their fathers, either who their grandmother: but that she said vnto all men, that those children were orphans, and sonnes vnto her auncient seruants. When Macrinus did tyrannize & empire, amongst other errors which hee committed, hee banished the famous matrone Mesia from the court: not for that hee did so much as suspect her of any euill, but being therunto byged by his vile inclination: for that all princes, his predecessors, esteemed her as a mother, and honored her as a ladie of great souereintie. In the court of eight emperours, by the space of 53. yeres, the great matrone Mesia had bene resident, with all which she vttered, of her selfe so great valure, and yealbed such estimation of her person, and also of them recovered so great gaine, that when Macrinus did reiect her from the court, she had moze riches in her exile, then Macrinus might finde in the whole empire.

The

The matrone *Mesia* departed vnto Phoenicia; where her two nephues remained, namely *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexius*: and as there remained manie Romane gentlemen e- uill payed and worse pleased, so they ioyned with *Mesia*, and *Mesia* with them, to talke and murmur howe *Macri- nus* had laine, by treason, his loyde the Emperour *Balsianus*, and made hauock of the Empire & common wealth: whiche matter was moued amongst persons that had de- sired to remoue this mischief, and on the tyrante also to take vengeance. The matrone *Mesia* receiued exceeding ioy, to heare with her owne eares, and see with her eyes, howe all the armie was bent against the tyrant *Macri- nus*: and their greatest care was, to finde a man suffici- ent, and of merite meete for the Empire: because the Ro- manes stode with him in great and cruel hatred, for want of pay, and the matrone *Mesia* no lesse grieved with her exile. The matrone *Mesia* beholding her selfe in so good & apt assembly, to make her nephue *Heliogabalus* Ro- mane Emperour, called in great secrecie, sixe Romane cap- taines of the chieftest of the armie: all which were of great authoritie, and no lesse grauitie. Vnto these sixe captaines *Mesia* sayd in secrete, howe her nephue *Heliogabalus* was sonne vnto the Emperour *Balsianus*, and *Semiamira* her daughter: and that shee had helde him hidden in Asia, for doubt of h^r Emperesse *Iulia*: who (had she knowne it) would haue laine the childe, and banished the mother. *Mesia* was not only satisfied to say & certifie these vi. captaines, that the Emperour *Balsianus* most truely was father vn- to that younge man, and nephue vnto her selfe: but ioynt- ly therewith, she brought them into her chamber, and dis- couered vnto them an huge masse of golde & siluer, whiche she promised, and sware vpon the altars of the temple, to distribute totally vpon the armie, if they would giue the Romaine Empire vnto her nephue.

Vnto these sixe captaines (to whome the matrone *Mesia* had committed this secrete, and discovered this treasure) shee both promised and sware, to bringe to passe with

with her nephue *Heliogabalus*, that he shoulde giue them the mosse honourable offices in all the Empire, if in case they shoulde vse the meane to make him Emperour: in so muche that, if other men were payed and recompenced, they shoulde remaine both remunerated and honoured. Create wisdom was used by the matrone *Mesia*, in this matter of so greate importance, especially in the choyce of so honourable captaines: whose credite was sufficient to frame the whole armie to perfourme the same. Of this ex- ample, princes and greate potentates may collecte, that in anie affaires, there is not greater daunger, either more safetie, then soundly to consider, in to whose hands they commende their causes.

The Pretorian bands being euill intreated, and worse payde, greate was their ioy, when they hearde that *Heliogabalus* was h^r sonne of *Balsianus*, for whom the grandmo- ther craued the Empire: whome they all accepted, and bound them selues to receiue for their Emperour: not on- ly to be reuenged of h^r tyrant *Macrin*, but also to possesse the money. For so much as the temple where he was Priest, was without the citie, agreement was made betweene the matrone *Mesia*, and the armie, that pre- sently the same night (notwithstanding it were verie late) both her nephue and also her owne person, by strength and denise should be conueyed ouer the wall into the citie, that at the breake of day, they shoulde seaze the citie, and aduaunce *Heliogabalus* vnto the Empire. Neither was the matrone *Mesia* slack to accomlish their request, either was there anie wante in the promise made by the Pretor- ians: but that *Mesia* and her nephue approaching to the foote of the wall, w^{ch} purposed engins mounted them ouer into the citie: the young man being placed amidst the Ro- maine captaines, belæuinge him to be the sonne of *Balsianus*, by resemblance of his face, and by a marke in his hande, as *Balsianus* had.

The Romane armies receiued greate ioy, to beholde *Mesia* and her nephue *Heliogabalus*: chiefly, to see the
young

" young man so comely, faire, and towarde : and in behol-
 " ding they would all say, that since he had so good a face, ne-
 " cessarily it followed, that his deedes shoulde be vertuous:
 " but his inclination beeing discovered, there was no vice
 " wherein he was not noted: either any vertue wherefoze
 " to be praised. The great matrone *Mesia* (as a woman
 " that dealt in affaires both daungerous and escandalous)
 " would first assure the Empire vnto her nephue, befoze shee
 " departed from her treasure: and the case was thus. Shee
 " framed all the principals of the armie, presently to sweare
 " vnto *Heliogabalus*, as their onely Emperour, & to kisse
 " his hande as their naturall Lozde. A matter most truely
 " verie marueilous, and no lesse worthe to be commended
 " vnto memorie, namely, the dispatche and diligence vsed by
 " *Mesia* in one night: moste manifestly apparant, that with-
 " in fire houres, shee brought forth her nephue from the tem-
 " ple, passed him ouer the wall, did yeald him credite to be
 " the sonne of *Bassianus*, obtained their othes as vnto their
 " Emperour, kissed his hand as loyall subiectes, diuided her
 " treasure amongst the armies, fortified them selues in the
 " fortres of the citie, and brought the whole hoste into ar-
 " mour. At the breake of daye, in every tower they did
 " sound their trumpets, placed their Standards and Pen-
 " dons, bothe on bullworke and corsteines, and with loude
 " voices exclaimed thzough all streates: *Viuu, viu el Em-*
 " *perador Heliogabalo, hio del buen Bassiano*: that is to
 " saye: happie and long life vnto the emperoure *Helioga-*
 " *balus*, sonne to the good *Bassianus*. This beeing done & pro-
 " claymed, *Heliogabalus* came forth into the citie, neither
 " on foote oz on horse backe, but vpon the shoulders of the
 " moste auncient and honourable of the armie, wearing the
 " imperiall crowne vpon his head, and holding the repall
 " scepter in his hande, and haueing vpon his shoulders, the
 " ensigne of *Augusta*, & befoze him the pendon of the Eagle:
 " because these were the ensignes whereby the emperours
 " of Rome were knownen. And now, after y standards were
 " placed, and the strength of the citie passed, the armie
 " publicly

" publicly proclaimed, and receiued the Emperour *Heli-*
 " *ogabalus* for their lozde and Emperour: presently, the re-
 " notomed matrone *Mesia* did yelde vnto them all her trea-
 " sure, both siluer and golde, without breache of any pro-
 " mise, oz reseruing of any one Jewell. The Romanes were
 " so contented with the matrone *Mesia*, that there they did
 " both sweare and beue, to esteeme her as a mother, to hold
 " *Heliogabalus* for their Lozde, and to persecute the tyrant
 " *Macrinus*, euen to death.

CHAP. III.

¶ Howe *Macrinus* did write a letter vnto the
 renowned *Mesia*, after he vnder-
 stood his depriuation
 of the Empire.

THE tyrant *Macrinus* was settled with greafe secu-
 rity, in the citie of *Antioche*, when they remoued him
 from the Empire in *Phoenicia*: for so it hath bene, is, and
 shalbe, that when Princes moste greedily doe prosecute
 vices, then their enemies are weauing some webb of most
 deadly daunger. *Heliogabalus* was not the full age of
 seuentene yeres when he was aduanced to the Empire:
 when *Macrinus* in *Antioche* heard the newes of y whiche
 was don in *Phoenicia*, he fell into a great laughter, & made
 a iest of it: chiefly, being certified to be so very a childe, &
 framed by his grandmother *Mesia*, whome he helde bothe
 for a woman ambitious, and also contentious. Those
 persons that remained with *Macrinus* (after they heard
 of a newe Emperour, & that y *Romane* hosts had don him
 homage and fealtie) aduised & also prayed him, that he
 would not esteeme the matter ouer light, but with better
 and riper counsell, shoulde thinke and consider for the re-
 medie thereof: for it might come to passe, by conceiuing it
 to be but a iest, that the other might remaine Emperour
 in earnest.

As Macrinus naturally was both ambitious, outrageous, and disdainful: so he demanding ynke and paper, presently did write a cholerike letter with his own hands, vnto the famous matrone Mesia after this maner.

Macrinus Ancius, onely Em-
perour and vniuersall Lord, to the matrone Mesia her person, small health, and lesse grace with the Gods.

Here I amaduertised, that in the offence of the Gods, & vnto my great want of reuerence, thou hast attempted with mine armies, to establish a newe Emperour: which deede exactly declareth thee to be (as in deede thou art) a woman both seditious, and also ambitious: since thou knowest that by meanes of thy tounge and mutinie in the common wealth, I did banishe thee my house. Also they saye, that the emperour which thou hast made, is a boye, a priest, a bastard, and thy nephue: whereunto there is no more to be answered, but that I shal chastice thee as a woman, and him as a childe: that is to saye, commaund him to be whipt, & thy selfe to spinne. I sweare vnto thee Mesia (by the immortall Gods) that if thou driue mee to take my lance in hand, I will force thee to put thy distaffe vnder thy girdle: for vnto women (such as thou) it were more honestie to be spinning, then to practice mutinies amongst souldiours. Also it is saide vnto me, that thou hast giuen infinite treasures vnto mine armies, to moue them to reuolt from mee, and to elect thy nephue Emperour: these with the rest, be the fruites of thy guyle: for that on-
ly

ly of thee, and neuer of any other, it is saide, or shall be saide, that thou hast robbed the Empire, to buy the Empire.

If all princes past had knowen thee as I do knowe thee, neither would they haue giuen credite vnto thy woordes, or faith vnto thy fained workes: but as by thy guileful diligence in their seruice, and presuming attempts in their affaires, thou didst commaund their houtholdes, and gathered the fruites of their goodes. I haue heard thee many times boast thy selfe, that thou wast borne in the house of Marcus Aurelius, nourished with Antoninus Pius, and didst dwell in house with Commodus, Pertinax, Iulianus, and Seuerus, Princes very glorious: which if thou hadst remembred, thou wouldest neuer haue committed a deede so vile: for there may not be in the whole worlde a deede more vnseeming, then for him that was bred in the palace of kings, to committ treason against a person of such maiestie. If it shall hap the Gods to permitt, and my sorrowfull destinies so to direct, that in this enterprise I lose both honour and life, I can saye vnto thee Mesia, that which historiographers, who shall write of thee and mee, with trueth may saye, that the Empire came vnto mee by election, but to thine through treason. If thou hadst beene a woman of honestie or honour, thou wouldest not so openly haue defamed thy daughter Semiamira, whome thou chargest to haue accompanied Bassianus, and of her bodie this boye Heliogabalus to haue sprong, for whome nowe thou procurest the Empire: because in the houses of blushing faces, generous and noble heartes, they more esteeme an ounce of honour, then all the wealth and estate of this life.

Oh Mesia, howe greate an errour hast thou made in this thine enterprife, onely to reuenge thy rauinous heart, and to make thy nephue an Emperour: namely, thou hast raised a slaunder vppon Balsianus, defamed the royal palace of incest, dishonoured thine vnchast daughter Semiamira, blemished the Empreffe Iulia of vn honest consent, & not stained but imbrued thine owne fame, with the filthie couerture of incestuous adulterie. And since Balsianus, Iulia, Semiamira, and Seuerus haue ended their dayes: wherefore wilt thou (oh traytresse Mesia) dishonour so many that be dead, to honour but one that is aliue?

Nowe I knowe (oh Mesia) howe tedious and perillous it is, for quiet men to deale with mutinous women, and paffioned as thou art: who hauing no yron to hurte our fleshe, yet committest deedes to defame vs, and speakest woordes to torment vs. Of this treason which thou hast committed against me, I doubt not to be reuenged, and my heart thoroughly satisfied: for so greate an offence is treason, that if it be in men to offende therein, the Gods haue onely charge to reuenge y same. It is giue me also to vnderstand, that this thy nephue was a priest in the temple of the God Heliogabalus: in which matter I do not entermedle and say little, since in this iniurie ye haue not committed offence vnto men, but vnto the gods: but ioyntly therewith I dare saye vnto thee, that since thou hast drawen him forth of the temple, where he was consecrated vnto the Gods, thou shalt neuer enjoy good dayes of him: for that of thy parte, to haue done seruice vnto the Goddes, of Princes thou shouldest haue made priestes, and not of priests Princes.

The

The Gods demaund nothing which we haue, but if by chaunce wee offer any thing vnto them, they like it not, that wee should returne to take it awaye: for which cause I say vnto thee, and from hencefoorth, do propheticke (O Mesia) that for so muche as thou hast drawne forth thy nephue from the holy temple, he shall lose the Empire, and thou thy money. The confidence which thou committedst vnto the men of warre, by diuiding amongst them so greate quantitie of golde and siluer, I hope in the immortall Gods, shall all conclude in smoke: for it is an ancient custome among the Romane hostes, not to giue the Empire to the person of moste merite, but vnto him that payeth best. The matter that moste grieueth mee (O Mesia) in this traiterous enterprife, is, to thinke, that I being a man, and a Romane prince, must deale, fight, and comende with a woman: because there may not bee in this whole worlde an equall despight, then for a man to arme him selfe against a woman, whose weapons are but woordes. But the conclusion shalbe, since thou wast borne in the palace of the good Marcus Aurelius, and Heliogabalus being thy nephue, if thou wilt be removed from this follye, and reduce thy selfe into my subiection and obedience, I will relieue thee of this exile, and to thy nephue Heliogabalus will I giue a Consulship: and if not, wee are come vnto the time, that men must doe what they may, and the Gods as they please.

Dd.iii.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of a letter written by the great matrone

Mesia vnto the tyrant Macri-

nus.

When Mesia receiued the letter from the tyrant Macrinus, her nephue Helioabalus, & al the principall capitaines of the armies beeing present (who of set purpose did beholde her countenance all the time that shee read the same, which matter was both merueilous and to be noted, in consideration of such a letter so furnished with malice, and fraught with despite) she neither changed countenance, or saide one worde after the reading of the same. Aboue all men or women of her dayes, in two pointes this famous matrone Mesia excelled; which is to waite, for great solicitude in affaires, and soueraigne patience in trauellis: and so it came to passe, she ofte vsed to say, that she neuer losse matter by negligencie, or euer aunswere dani-
 nie man as one passioned. Helioabalus and all that were present, did not a litle request the renouued matrone Mesia to reade that letter vnto them, or tell what it contained, which she vtterly refused, saying vnto them, that it were a faete verie euill, presently to reade it, and a worde much worse, if after in time and place shee did not shewe it. This beeing done and Mesia withdrowne, shee aunswere-
 red to Macrinus his letter after this manner.

Mesia Phoenicia, vnto Ancius

Macrinus his person, health and consolation in the Gods,

In this the fronte of my letter, I do not curse or banne thee as thou didst me, in y beginning of thine: for wee that be persons bred and trayned in princes courts,

courtes, do not a litle presume to be praised for our good nouiture: and to escape to be noted malicious. Vrbanie, benenolence, and good manners, shoulde not to be losse for anie vnkindnesse, or forgotten for any occasion: for that amongst persons noble & shamefast, although they doe them iniuries, yet they endure not to speake vnde wordes. Thou shouldest haue remembered (Macrinus) that I was a woman, to whome thou didst write, and thou a man that didst take the same in hand: and that, if thou hadst founde thy selfe offended or dishonoured by me, thou shouldest haue reuenged thy selfe with thy laboe, as a noble person, and not with thy penne as a coward. The armour and defence of women is the tounge, but men defend them selues with their swordes or weapons: wherfore my Lorde Seuerus did vse to say, that it were a great wante in a man, to reuenge his cause with woordes: and too much lightnesse in a woman to defende her griefe with weapons. But the case shalbe thus, that since thou takest my office, which is to speake, I will take thine which is to fight: for that the glorie wherof thou presumest to haue slaine so manie men, thou shalt be deprived in receiuing thy death at the hands of a woman.

Thou sayest in thy letter, that thou didst banishe me thy house, and caste me out of Rome, as a woman of an euill tounge, and seditious in the common welth: Macrinus, thou haste to vnderstande, that I am not so much grieued with that which thou writest to me, as for the occasion whiche thou giuest mee to aunswere thee: because I may not directly aunswere vnto thy vilenesse, without disgracing of my grauitie.

D.iiii.

If

If I had beene a woman of an euil tongue, and reuolting from the common wealth, (as thou Macrinus vniuſly reſorteſt) would they haue ſuffered mee in their courtes? and would the good Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and my lorde Seuerus haue retained mee in their houſes? In Princes palaces, and in all citizens houſes, all vices are coterred, or at the leaſt, ſhadowed, except the perſon that is ſeditious; or foule and liberall tounge: which is, not onely intolerable, but much leſſe to be hidden. I appeale vnto the immortal Gods for witneſſes, if in fiftie & three yerres, in which I haue boene trained and reſident in Princes courtes, I did euer hurte any perſon, either in worde or deede, which thou knoweſt to be moſte true, becauſe all men did loue mee; for that I trauelled and did good for all perſons. Thou Macrinus didſt baniſhe mee thy courte, to haue more ſcope to followe thy vice: for thou wel knoweſt, & alſo all perſons in Rome, that thy lewdneſſe and my grauitie might not dwell vnder one couert. Thou ſayeſt in thy letter, that my nephue Heliogabalus ſhalbe whipt as a boye, and I, as a woman ſhalbe ſent to ſpinne: vnto woordes ſo farre diſtempered, and of ſo greate deſpight as theſe are, I doe not permit to be aunſwered, but to be reuenged. If, when thou didſt write vnto mee and my nephue, woordes ſo foule, and of ſo great enormitie, thou hadſt remembered what I was, and what thou arte: which is to weete, that my father was a knight of Phoenicia, & thy father a ſmith of Capua: thou ſhouldeſt haue conſidered, that in ſending mee to ſpinne on a diſtaffe, I would ſend thee to blowe at the bellowes.

To that which thou ſayeſt, that it were more for
my

my honeſtie amongſt ſtrangers to be weating, then bringing and ſeducing the armies, which as thou ſayeſt, ſo haue I performed: for I giue thee to vnderſtand, that I haue waſpt ſuch a webbe, as thou neither knoweſt to vnſframe, or mayſt cut off when it is finiſhed. Macrinus, thou hadſt neede of more vnderſtanding, and alſo of more power, either to whip my nephue Heliogabalus, or ſet me to ſpinne: for, notwithstanding our thoughtes be lowe, yet our fortune is high: but thou haſt a baſe fortune, and a hantie hart. Alſo thou ſayeſt in thy letter, that to make my nephue an Emperour, I haue diuided all my treaſure amongſt the men of warre: and that of mocheleſly it may be ſaid, that I robbed the Empire, to buye my empire. To this I anſwere, that thou haſt ſaid right well: if, as thou art a tyrant thou wert an Emperour: but I buy not the Empire for my nephue, but redeeme it from thee which art a tyrant, and no leſſe aſſured, that the fathers of the ſacred Senate wil allow my election, and violate thy tyrannie. In that thou ſayeſt that I robbed the Empire to buye the Empire, proceedeth of vile ſlaunder, and no leſſe falſhood: ſince thou, Macrinus, doſt know moſt certainly, that to obtaine riches, I needed not rob the common wealth: becauſe my patrimonie is very great, my huſband left me rich, my ſiſter Iulia gaue me al her treaſure, my Lord Seuerus ceaſed not to giue me monie, the Conſul Furius mine vncle, gaue me a yearely ſtipend, & for al men for whom I ſued, ſomewhat was preſented me: in ſuch wiſe, that I had alwayes to giue, and at no time founde my ſelfe in neceſſitie to craue. If this be true (as it is moſt true) being a Lady of ſo great wealth: why ſhouldeſt thou Macrinus deſame mee with theſe? Beleeue me (thou Macrinus) if I

Dd.v.

ſhould

iustice, or haddest it by inheritance; but diddest rob it by tyrannie. Also thou sayest in thy letter, that if I & my nephue would yeeld obedience, thou wilt pardon my exile, and giue him a Consulship. To this I answer, that now al thinges are so farre concluded, that there remayneth no time to talke of shares: and if wee should vnderstand therein, thou shouldst take what were offered thee, without thy electiō of what should please thee: for that partes and shares in such like cases, are not accustomed to be giuen by traytours, but by Lords absolute in estate. Thou & I Macrinus are incountred in so narrowe a condition, that the Gods, fortune, and also armes, haue to declare thy malice, & my innocencie: thy tyrannie, and my iustice: thy treason, and my fidelitie: thy falshod, and my trueth: thy crueltie, and my zeale: thy pride and my patience: thy treason, and my simple intent: which being done, they shal giue the Empire, not vnto him that desireth, but vnto him that shall deserue the same.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe the tyraunt Macrinus was slaine in battell.

After that *Mesia* had writtten her letter, and dispatched *Macrinus* messengers, she conferred with the principal Captaines of the armie: vnto whom she disclosed what *Macrinus* had writtten, and how she had answered y same: who were not a litle greued with the discourtesies that it conteyned, and greatly commended the aunswere whiche *Mesia* had made. And as *Macrinus* had said in his letter, that the Romaine hostes did vse to giue the Empire, not vnto the person of most deseruing, but vnto him that best did pay them: so y Romaine captaines were not therewith

a litle

a litle despised, presently swearing, not once but many times, that *Macrinus* might not satisfie that inturie with lesse cost, then with the losse of his head. *Macrinus* committed no small erroz, in banishing *Mesia*, but much moze in writting that letter, but most of all in charging the armies with such an outrage: for that it was the totall occasion, for *Mesia* to recouer moze fauour, and *Macrinus* to lose his credite. Of this so notable example, princes and other great potentates haue to take example, that when their people or vassals shall be altered, or mutined, very much to consider, not only what they do, but also what they say and write: for that in rebellious times, more hurt is done with a word or a letter, then at another time with a notable iniurie. The *Matrone Mesia*, with her exile not a litle greued, and with the letter no lesse displeased: neither would sleepe by night, or rest by day: prouiding thinges necessarie for the warres, and dispatching posts for *Italie*: for her intent was, to susteine her estate in *Asia* with armes, and in *Rome* with letters and promises. This citie which *Mesia* possessed, was of 2000. householdes, where she made preparation of engins wherewith to whirle, and bulwokes to defend: and further, gaue commaundement, that the mosse valiante persons, and most cheyft capitaines should remaine within the same: not onely to resist, but also to offend. When *Macrinus* read the letter that *Mesia* had writtten, and was aduertised by his messengers, how patiently, and without alteration shee read his letter, he was not a litle greued therewith: for he had opinion of y *matrone Mesia*, that shee had skill to dissemble iniuries, and after in proesse to reuenge the same.

The Prefect of *Macrinus* armie, was a ballant Captaine, named *Iulianus*, whom he sent with his greatest power vnto the citie which *Mesia* and her nephue *Heliogabalus* did possesse: giuing commaundement, that he should trauel to take them alive, to performe his promise whiche he had sworne: which is to witt to set *Mesia* to spinne, and her nephue to bee whipt. *Iulianus* was a Capitaine bold and

and valiant, who besieging the citie, which he thought to be in distresse, moze then it was, and giuing a furious assault, hauing scarcely mounted on the topp of the wall, the souldiours of the citie by plaine strength pulled him ouer, cut off his head, and hanged it out on a towre. The mozt rowe after that these thinges had passed, *Mesia* commaunded certaine of *Macrinus* Capitaines, to be called into her presence, who vpon assurance appoaching vnto the foote of the wall, said vnto them these wordes: that which I haue to say vnto you (my friends) is, that ye behold and consider vppon this turret, the head of your sorrowfull Capitaine *Julianus*: and say vnto your maister *Macrinus*, that the distaffe wherewith I spinne is that launce, & that head is the call which I doe weaue and knit. When *Macrinus* heard the newes of the misfortune that had happened vnto his Capitaine *Julianus*, and what wordes the matrone *Mesia* had said vnto the souldiers of his armie: hee said (as it was reported) with a roying voyce: my destinies be finished, my houre is come, and my fortune is ended. *Macrinus* with feare had his courage so daunted, that secretly he began to practise with the matrone *Mesia*, to diuide the Empire with her nephue *Heliogabalus*: but being (as shee was) in so great readinesse, & no lesse passioned, she would in no wise accept, either as much as giue eare thereunto: and that, if y^e Empire were to be diuided, it should be with an Emperour, and not with a Tyrant.

Macrinus perceiuing his offers to be reiected, his wordes despised, and his presents nothing regarded, determined to make a profe of fortune, which with the while of her variable wheele, many times doeth wound without threating: and sometimes threateneth without wounding.

Macrinus gathering and also paying his armie which hee had in the confines of *Antioche*, departed vnto *Phoenicia*, where hee camped ver y nere vnto the citie, which *Mesia* and her nephue *Heliogabalus* defended: who presently sent to giue *Macrinus* to vnderstand, that hee should not neede to take the paine to assault the towne, for that with

in

in very fewe dayes they would issue to giue him battell in the field. Two Romane armies, and two Romane Emperours, were in *Phoenicia* one against another: *Macrinus* partie euery day diminishing, and the other not only increasing but also preuailing: for that daily the souldiers parted from *Macrinus* vnto *Heliogabalus*, vnderstanding that hee was sonne vnto *Bassianus*, and did acknowledge him for their Emperour, & kissed his hands as their natural Lord and souereigne.

By the number that daily fledd from him, in their double speach which they vsed with him, in the sickle service which they did him, by his hands which daily diminished, and by their weake courage in fighting: *Macrinus* did clearely perceiue, that hee might not obtaine victorie, but saue himselfe to be in daunger of a sale vnto his enemies. *Macrinus* counterfected a shew vnto his souldiers of courage to fight, and yet was in great readinesse to flye: for that at all times, when he issued to encounter or skirmish, he was mounted vpon an horse of great swiftnes, and likewise disguised.

Mesia being aduertised, that *Macrinus* had greater regard to the safetie of his life, then his honour or goods, prouided to issue at the soudeine to giue him battell: the which although on both sides was thzoughly imbued in blood, and not a litle daungerously contended, yet in the end, *Macrinus* was put to flight, and flated in a village, but with the losse of his head. This was the end and conclusion of the tyrant *Macrinus*, which vsurped the Romane dominion ninty monethes, and tenne dayes: who was so cruell (besides all other vices) that amongst his owne souldiers he was termed, not *Macrinus*, but *Macellin*^o, which is to say, butcher: for that in respects of the humane blood which hee shedde, hee moze seemed a butcher, then a Romane Prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of a notable letter written by the matrone *Mesia*, vnto the Senate of Rome, crauing the confirmation of the Empire vnto *Heliogabalus* her nephue.

THe tyrant *Macrinus* being dead and beheaded, presently the two armies ioyned in one: and notwithstanding the one part had followed *Heliogabalus*, & the other *Macrinus*, yet the matrone *Mesia* thought it not meet to moue disputatiō, who had bene traytours, or who had bene loyall: affirming it to be moze conuenient time, to win minds, then to reuenge iniuries. Although the matrone *Mesia* in al other matters past, had discovered her great wisdom, yet in this case aboue the rest she made a shew of her great prudence: for that (to say the truth) in rebellious times, & amongst mutinous people, princes ought not to occupie themselves in chastisements, but in reconcilinges. All the capitaines of *Macrinus* that escaped the battell, conceyuing howe *Mesia* commaunded by publicke proclamation, that no man should presume to call them traytours, either vse them with foule wordes, ioyntly assembled of their owne francke minds, to confesse her to be their soueraigne Lady: and to liasse the handes of *Heliogabalus* for their Emperour.

The matrone *Mesia* botwed her selfe to ioy, for obteyning reuenge of the tyrant *Macrinus*, and to behold the armies ioyned in one, yeelding due obedience: to her nephue *Heliogabalus*: that from the yeares of lixty, she discovered a gesture and countenance but of xl. yeares of age. Although the matrone *Mesia* held the Empire of her nephue *Heliogabalus* safe and established, partly to see the enimies slaine, as also for the obedience receiued of both the armies: yet she prouided that *Heliogabalus* should not intitle him-
selfe

selfe Vniuersal Lord, or Onely Emperour, vntill the Romanes had receiued him, and the Senate confirmed him. Not fixe dayes after these thinges had passed in Phoenicia, the matrone *Mesia* sent a solemne embassage vnto Rome: and secretly gaue vnto the Embassadors many Iewels to diuide amongst the Senatours, and for time to come in her behalfe to make them great offers: to the end with Iewels to trayne them to her purpose, and with hope to conuerteyne them. This being done, *Mesia* wrote vnto the Senate a letter sufficiently well indited, after this maner.

Mesia Phoenicia, vnto the sacred Romane Senate, health and grace.

Vnto men so glorious in acts, & so graue in precepts and doctrine, (as ye are right reuerent fathers cōscript) it may seme a matter both new & straunge, for a woman to write vnto the sacred Romane Senate: which renoumed name the Gods do reuerence, & men therat do tremble and are terrified. The matters, which by my embassadors I send to giue you to vnderstand, neither for that I am a woman that may do litle, your grauitie hath not to cōsider of the same as a matter of smal importance: because all men are not so wise, that none doth misse: either al womē so vnable but y some escape error. Those thigs which ye shal read in this my letter, or shal heare at y mouth of my Embassadors, I sweare vnto you by the immortall gods, and by the sepulchres of mine elders, that they be most true & not feigned: for that in a Lady of mine estate, it were lesse infamie to be vnchast, then to be a liar. I haue heard my Lord *Mar. Aurelius* say, when I was but a child, that in women alwayes were conioyned, truth & cha-
Ee. stitie,

stirre, and a woman of truelyth, was neuer but chaste: & a woman addicted to lying, did neuer continue in continencie. Some of you that now are liuing may remember, when y^e Empresse Iulia my sister, came to be wife of the Emperour Scuerus, and how in her company I came to the Court, wherein I was long & many yeares both serued and also persecuted: for as in courts of princes, they that seeke their singular aduancement: y^e one ceaseth not to persecute the other. Although in princes palaces where I liued, I haue beene persecuted, defamed, and also enuied: yet I beseech the immortal gods, y^e the dealing & entreatance, which then I vsed, with such as wished me euil, that the same & no other, they will performe on me, which now wish me well. In 53. yeares y^e I haue stayed in diuers princes courts, I neuer dasht any person out of countenance, I neuer toke the tale out of their mouth, I neuer spake any inuiourous word, I neuer reprobued any pers^{on}, I neuer did preiudice any mans name, & neuer iniuriously tooke any vengeance: because in houses of great princes, no man maye obtaine aduancement, if hee lacke skil to suffer. This which I here relate (fathers conscript) is, not to recouer praise, but to the end ye should beleue me: for if my pers^{on} possesse no credite, my embassage must needs haue issue of no effect. Speaking more in particular, I say: ye know that many yeares since my sister and I departed Rome, attending on the emperour Bassianus, and after that the traitour Macrinus had slaine him, Iulia his vnfortunate wife, so sensiblie did feelee his death, that by extreeme sorrowe she finished her life. Fortune would not consent to depriue me of my vital spirits, when my sister Iulia was bereft of life: and this she did, not to the end to forget mee, but the

the more to greeue mee: because in great perils and misfortunes, if at y^e time fortune did dissemble, it was not so much as to honour them, as afterwardes to be reuenged of them. Of the death of Bassianus my lord and your emperour, as it was in my hands to bewaile him, if it had beene as well to defende him, either hee had neuer died, or else had beene raised to life: for that most truly, although Bassianus were yonge, vaine, fickle, absolute, & dissolute, yet on the other part, he was patient, silent, and pitiful: and it might haue beene, in the burthen of greater age, he would haue forgotten y^e vices of his youth. There is no confidence at al times in most wise men, either despaire in fickle yonge me: for that we see all day long, that many times age doth bring forth fruite, where reason did not yeld as much as leaues. He that in deede laide hands on Bassianus, was that caytiue Martianus: but he that commaunded him to be slaine, was the traitour Macrinus: a man most truly of base condition, infamous life, obscure linage, an idiot in letters, intemperant in speach, vicious in maners, and a tyrant in his workes. Ye perfectly perceiue (fathers conscript) that a man so much defamed, were a slander to be receiued & accepted for a prince: for that in great estates & Segniories, it is not sufficient that their princes be valiant, but also honourable: which is to wit, not to want proportion in their persons, and to haue noblenes in bloud, of all whiche things Macrinus hath no possession: for, besides that he is of obscure linage, infamous of life, cruel of condition and false of promise: so had he a swarte visage, and a dwarfs body, he was splay footed, & also poare blind.

Macrinus was not satisfied to haue slaine Bassianus, but also vsurped the Empire: and to heape euill

vppon euil, did sweare vppon the altar of the temple, that he had not slaine Bassianus, in such wise, that the periured Macrinus, was not cōtented with homicide and manslaughter: but before the Gods was also periured. But as the Gods are iust in rewarding the vertuous, and not carelesse to chastice the wicked, & that the election of men, being not confirmed of the gods: my nephue Heliogabalus and I, haue herein vsed so great skill, that at the time when the tyrant Macrinus was most abandoned vnto the vices of Antioche, wee cut off his head: in such wise, that Asia was set free frō his tyrannie, and the death of Bassianus well reuēged. The armies that were scattered, discōtented, diuided, and euil payed, we haue gathered together, payed, and vnited: and possesse all Asia in obedience vnto the Roman Empire. Also (fathers conscript) I wish ye to vnderstand, that in the time of life, and also after the death of the tyrant Macrinus, the armies did elect my nephue Heliogabalus Emperour: which election I will not denie but that I desired, practised, procured, and also bought: for that it seemed vnto mee, that the Empire being in the hands of such a tyrant as Macrinus, it was not bought, but redeemed. If in this marte of the Empire I haue offended, I wil yeeld my selfe to al maner of punishment: but therwith I would haue ye to vnderstand, that I bought it with my monie, openly of your armie, from a tyrant, farre from Rome, in a rebellious time, and for the sonne of Bassianus: and I say for the sonne of Bassianus, which with most iuste title should haue inherited the Empire: if Macrinus had not vsurped the same.

Fathers conscript, it seemeth not y I haue deserued blame, much lesse any chastisemēt: because by my industrie and

and proper goods, I haue paid your armies, set Asia in peace, slaine the tyrant, redeemed the Empire, and aboute all the reste, haue reuenged the death of Bassianus, & giuen as his inheritance appertained vnto his sonne. As your armies do heare report, and there doe write, they were so poore and in such distresse, y more iustly it may be said, not that I suborned but succoured them with my monie: because the more part had not to eate, nor garments to weare, aduēturing to rob vppon the wayes, and in townes to filch & steale. And since my nephue is sonne vnto Bassianus, nephue vnto Seuerus, & a young man of himselfe in semblance of good inclination, it seemeth not that we haue erred in his electiō, either thal ye swarue in his cōfirmation: for that in life he resembleth the father, and in courage and noblenesse of minde the graundfather. Neither is this election to be reprobued, for his euil nōturturing or doctrine: for as ye know, he was not trained in vices, but in temples: not with prophane men, but with honest priests: not robbing on high wayes, but offering sacrifices: not sheading bloud, but teares: not wandering at large, but withdrawen: not persecuting men, but seruing the gods. From a child of much infancie, I offered my nephue Heliogabalus to the gods in the temple: where he hath beene instructed to be milde, chaste, silent, patient, sober pitiful, and abstinent: and if by hap, he shall proue otherwise then nowe hee is, it may be for the libertie that he shal obtaine, and not for the doctrine which he hath learned,

All princes past haue beene elected onely of men, but my nephue both of Gods and men: for that I vowed him to doe sacrifices, & the Gods haue rendered him to gouerne kingdomes.

Ye Romanes do greatly cōmend your selues, y^e ye remoued Quintus Cincinat⁹ from earing at the plough to be Dictatour: but more is my nephue to be praised, that was praying in the temple: for of more excellencie is that man that prayeth before the gods, then he y^e ploweth after oxen. In Rome alwayes in times past, the priesthood was diuided from the Empire: but ye see that whiche was neuer seene of your forefathers, namely, that the priest is an Emperour, and the Emperour a priest: in such wise, that with his sacrifices, hee shal reconcile vs with the gods, & with the empire defend vs against our enimies. Fathers cōscript, great & infinite thanckes haue we to render vnto all the gods, for that they haue giuen vs an Emperour which knoweth to pray, & hath skil to fight: for as ye al knowe, few victories are obtained by fight of mē, if the gods do not dispose the same. Although the election of my nephue hath beene done by the armie, and supposed also to be confirmed by the gods: yet neither will I y^e he rule the empire, or be established Emperour, yntill by the sacred Senate it be considered, & also cōfirmed: for I hold him not Emperour that is obeyed in Asia, but that is loued & elected at Rome. Since this young mā Heliogabalus, is the sonne of a prince, the nephue, the cousen, the brother of a prince, & a prince elected, we haue al to presume y^e he shal proue a good prince: for that he is much bound to be good, that is descended of many good persons. As long as I enioy life, I shall not cease to trauel that his life be such, as the doctrine and nourture which I haue giuen him: and if after my death he shal proue euil, the fault shal then be none of mine, for as ye (fathers cōscript) do well vnderstand, no blame is to be imputed to him that is already dead.

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neither may any excuse serue the manifest fault of the liueing.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ How the Romane Senate did allow the election of Heliogabalus, & of the present apparance of his wickednes.

The Embassadors being arriued, & their Embassage also knownen at Rome, both the Senate and people were in exceeding admiration, when they vnderstood of y^e great acts which *Mesia* had done in Asia, & heard of the letter that she wrote vnto Rome: whereof many copies were made, and sent to diuers towne & cities. In Rome they found themselves in great confusio, vpon determinatio of an answer to y^e demaund which the matrone *Mesia* had made, because the Senate doubted her attempts in time to come: in respect wherof they so deferred their answer, y^e the Embassadors complained vnto y^e Tribune of the people. By letters of her Embassadors, the matrone *Mesia* was aduertised of y^e dissention betwixt the Senate and people, as concerning y^e election & confirmation of her nephue Heliogabalus: wher vpon presently she determined to depart frō Asia, to Italie, vowing wth an othe to constrain the Senat to performe by force, that which they refused to accomplish of their owne accord. The Senate hauing intelligence, the matrone *Mesia* to be departed frō Asia to Rome, not to sue or make request, but to fight, forgate not to allow the election of Heliogabalus: commaunding by publique proclamation, that from thenceforth they should hold & esteeme him as their soueraigne lord, & obey him as emperour. The matrone *Mesia* iourneying from Asia to Rome, & vnderstanding that the Senate had confirmed the election of Heliogabalus, stayed in the borders of Greece: for that to returne vnto Phoenicia was very far, & to saile vnto Italie, no lesse late. The winter being past, *Mesia* in the prime of the Spring sayled into Italie, directing her course straight vnto Rome, where she was wel receiued, and no lesse feasted: although

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it be most true, at that instant shee was moze feared, then beloued: but shee was of so great skill, and of so much patience, that she most wisely could dissemble iniuries, and accept and also gratifie seruice. Mesia was so prudent and aduised, that neither in countenaunce, gesture, woordes or woorkes, shee did either secretly or openly, discover any malice against any person: but dealt with all persons as with her sonnes, and honoured all men as her brethren. All the Romanes were so pleased with the grauitie of her speech, and the honestie of her life, that on a day the Senate & people being conuyned, requested with great instance, that it might please her to accept the gouernement of the common wealthe, since shee had therein so great experience, and that her nephue was in Asia. To this demaund Mesia answered: Fathers conscript, I do greatly gratifie your request, which vnto me appertayneth not: for that it rather agreeth with the condition of women, to breede and nourish Emperours, and vnto men to gouerne Empires.

When these matters passed in Rome, Heliogabalus stayed in Phoenicia, attending an answer from his grandmother Mesia: who being aduertised that he was accepted in Rome for their absolute Lord, & soueraigne Emperour, came immediatly vnto Antioch, with intent the yere following to passe into Italie. Heliogabalus finding himselfe escaped, & freely deliuered from the church, confirmed Emperour, dispatched of the hands of tutors, absent from his grandmother, and in possession of libertie, to liue at his liking, his euill inclination presently appeared: because the vertue (if he had any) of his former life, was but feyned: for the euill inclination of young men, may for a time be disguised: but being at libertie, they cannot cloake it. The first insolencie of Heliogabalus committed in Asia, was, that he apparelled himselfe in a robe woven wth gold, silke, cotton, flax, & woll, large downe vnto his foote, sewen all ouer wth pearles & precious stones: and set a crowne on his head after the maner of Thyara, bracelets on his armes, & earrings on his eares: in such maner, that vnto the simple hee gaue

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occasion to gaze, vaine persons to talke, and wise men to wonder. All that winter he gaue him selfe to learning, not of science, but to playe on drummes, flutes, and suche other pipes, to daunce as a shepheard, & rustically to sing as a man of the countrie, and to iest as a juggler: in such wise, that for him selfe he sought out schooles agreeable vnto the life which he meant to leade. The spring of the yere being come, Heliogabalus departed towardes Rome, where at the porte of Hostia, his grandmother Mesia receiued him: and when shee saue her nephue, in such libertie of life, and so straunge in apparell, shee was touched with no small disgrace, in respect of suche Romanes as did accompanie her: and no lesse offended of the priuate and fauoured seruantes that did attende him. The matrone Mesia was so wise in her counsels, and so aduised in her actes, that shee conferred with her nephue in secreete, craning moste instantly, that in no wise hee should adventure to enter Rome with that manner of garment: for that it might fall out, in beholding him in the habite of so straunge attyre, they would bothe mutine and be scandalized.

Heliogabalus gaue good eare vnto the counsell of his grandmother, but her request he leste vtterly vnperformed, which was vnto her no small grieve and displeasure: for that shee heard it with her owne eares, and the Romanes also saide it vnto her face, howe contrary the actes of her nephue were to the writing that shee had sent touching him out of Asia.

Heliogabalus being arriued at Rome, was receiued of the common people with greate ioye and solemnitie: but the auncient and noble personages of Rome, beholding his presumption in commanding, his rash and haughty speache, his greedinesse in feedinge, his straungenesse in attyre, and vnsleddinesse and wantonnesse in gesture, could not satisfie them selues with sight, & much lesse with murmuring. When a certaine Senatour demaunded the matrone Mesia, why shee did permit her

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nephue to be clad in a vesture, so vnaccustomed, sighing she answered; It grieueth me not so much of his straunge attire, as of his wicked manners: because we may steale his garmente, but his lewde conditions wee cannot alter. To celebzate certeine feasts named Quirinales, Heliogabalus commaunded manie beastes to be slaine: and the moste auncient and honourable Senatours to beare the spittes, being fired vnto lances: in such wise, that he thought to do them no small honour, vnto whome he gaue a lance and a spitte. The matrone *Melia* beholding her nephue Heliogabalus, euerie day increasing from better to woorse, the people of him to growe into hatred, and that he would neither belecue her, either as muche as reuerence her, she forgoate not to leaue Rome, and to retorne into Phoenicia, where shee had lefte her house, and also her riches.

CHAP. IX.

Of manie vices that were contained in the Emperour Heliogabalus.

To repute at large all the vices of Heliogabalus, were to emptie and draue drie droppe by droppe the riuer Nilus, or to wade the great riuer of Danubic: because they are so manie, so vile, and so scandalous, that it shoulde be shame to write them, and losse time to read them. Of manie we shall write a fewe, and of the most vile the least dishonest: to the ende, y all men whiche shall see or read this writing, may conceiue the deserued blame of the Romans, to holde and suffer such a beaste for their Emperour: for that he was not onely vniuersall to gouerne a common wealth; but also his life in him was moste euill imployed.

We will write partly of his euill life, to discouer vnto men his euill end: for as y diuine Plato saide, though men can

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cloke and dissemble others faultes: yet do not the Goddes pardon their iniuries. This vnfortunate Prince was vicious, absolute, dissolute, and (whereof we haue moste to wonder) neuer wried in his wickednes: for, if vertue be tedious, vice is yrkesome. Heliogabalus entring the Empire, presently his house was furnished with iuars, jugglers, & iesters: vnto whome he neither denyed the entrie of his chamber, or the secretes of his house. Heliogabalus greatly delighted to playe and represent the fable and storie of Paris the Troyan, and the Goddesse Venus, who with his complices were clad in such garmentes, as in the chiefest of their playe fell from them, and discouered their nakednesse: that vnto all graue persons, occasion was giuen of murmuring, and to all light persons, of laughing.

This dede was not onely of greate indignitie, but also so scandalous to be represented of a Prince: for it sufficeth not, that Princes be honest in their owne persons: but they must not permitte either worde or dede that is vn honest, to be saide or done in their presence. They did perely celebzate a certeine feast named Salabonina, which continued thre dayes. In the firste day they were washed and let bloud, on the seconde they sighed and were silent, and on the thirde they feasted and reioyced in their moste costly attyre, in the memozie of Adonides the greatest louer that had bene in the worlde: the ende of this feast was, to represent the trauels, sighes, sorowes, graces and disgraces, that lotiers susteined before their soueraigne delight was obtained. Heliogabalus had in his chamber a young man named Zotipus, of bodye, face, and gesture, verie faire and gracious: but of manners and conditions no lesse corrupted: for that in his wordes he was a liar, in dealing double, false of promise, periured of his othe, and malicious in all his thoughtes.

Heliogabalus was oft aduertised of the wordes, dedes, and lewd life of Zotipus: but as affection did moze reigne.

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in him, then reason, so could he neither be seperated from his conuersation, or giue credit to anie reporte that was saide of him, accompting gibes and iestes, gracious recreations: guile, liuelinesse of spirite: deceites, diligence: crosse dealinge, pastime: and malice, subtiltie. Merie worthy was Zotipus of chasticement, and Heliogabalus of much greater reprehensio: because if princes haue licence to dissemble the faultes of their fauoured seruants, they ought not to allowe and confirme them: for of great reason none ought to be so acceptable vnto the prince, that opely dare aduenture to committe euill. At the time of his repaste, he did manie times commaunde Philosophers and orators to appeare in his ptesence, not to dispute of naturall courses, but of vnchaste adulteries. At time of conference with Ambassadors, Senators, or other graue persons, he would either play with his handes, or twinkle and winke with his eyes, in such wise, that suiters departed with disgrace, and not answered. As concerning women he neither spared matrones, married women, virgins, or widowes: but that all such as he fauoured, he either obtained, or else defamed.

In drinke he was also disordinate, for at some times he would drinke water, sometimes wine, sometimes ale, sometimes sider, sometimes sodde water, sometimes golden water, some times stild water, and at other times hee would not drinke, but brothes and colleses. In the manner of his feeding, he neither vled authoritie, or obserued grauitie: for at some times, he would eate sittinge in a chaire, sometimes on a bench, and sometimes walking: for he vled to say, that in suche manner, he did both eate and digest. Naturally hee was giuen to sleepe verie little, through the weakenesse of his bzaine: and slepte in all places without respect, as well in the temple, as in the Senate, in the garden, in the bath, in the bedde, and also in the market place: in suche wise, that hee wanted force to resiste the leaste motions and affections of his inclination.

Heliogabalus.

Heliogabalus did inuent at Rome, a certeine manner of feasting named, Festum vindemiarum, that is to saye, the feast of grapegathering: which feast was so dissolute & vnshamefast vnto the viefwe of the common people, that afterwards in Rome they neuer consented to the celebratio thereof. He was also greatly addicted to playe at tennis, and when he was offended with any olde Senatour, either any ancient or honourable Romane, he would sende for him to playe and accompany him: with whome he would playe so much, that in the end the sorrowfull gentleman should departe vnto his house, both tyred, beswett, and drudged, and also many times despoiled of his money. He went verie seldome vnto the temples, was bitterly boide and barren of all friendship or affection vnto wise men, was neuer scene to read in booke, greatly abhorred suiters & affaires, was negligent, either to paye or resourme the armies, made small accompt either of friendes or enimies: finally, he was addicted vnto his owne opinion, and a most fall enimie vnto reason.

CHAP. X.

Of a letter written by the great matrone Mesia vnto her nephue the Emperour Heliogabalus.

The greate matrone Mesia being aduertised in Asia, of her nephue Heliogabalus so farre enraged with vice in Rome, did write him a letter after this manner.

My sonne Heliogabalus, when thou departedst from Asia vnto Rome, I hoped to haue heard such newes of thee, as might be ioyfull to thy common wealth, and haue giuen vnto mee greate renoune & glorie: but as I am aduertised here, and also giuen to vnder-

vnderstand from thence, there thou doest minister matter for all men to murmur: and here vnto mee sufficient cause to weepe. Sixtie sixe yeares are past since I was borne into this worlde, in which I haue buried and bewailed my father Torquatus, my mother Aristina, my sister Phillis, and her husbande Tharsus. Also I buried and bewailed my husband Aristippus, my sonne Lucius Francus, my daughter Dolobella, and her husband Martianus. Also I bewailed and buried the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius, and the Empresse Faustina my good and gracious Ladie: in whose house I was borne, and in whose palace I was married. I also buried and bewailed the Emperour Commodus, the Emperour Pertinax, Annius Pastor mine vnckle, Mirtha mine aunte, Camillus my nephue, and Ioanna my neece. Also I buried and bewailed the Emperour Seuerus, my onely good Lorde and famous Emperour. Also I bewailed and buried thine vnfortunate father, my deare and moste desired sonne: whose name I dare not, either any other, expresse in my presence: because the sounde thereof constraineth mee to breake forth in teares. I thought it expedient (my sonne) to leade thee vnto remembrance of all these thy predeceffours, to the ende thou mayst see, howe small reason it were, that I should bewaile the liuing, since I haue wept all the dayes of my life, for so many persons that are dead. When thou wast borne by stealth, and I did both hide and couer thee: when I did remoue thee from Rome, and brought thee vnto Grecia: when I caused thee to be instructed in Greeke letters, and bred and nourished thee in companie of wise men: when I did offer thee vnto the

the God Heliogabalus, and made thee a priest in his sacred temple: I thought (my sonne) that all these thinges should serue mee for ioye and peace in my reposed age: and not to bewaile thy childishe youthfulness.

In this I acknowledge, how free the iudgements of the Gods are from the thoughtes of men: in that the gods determine one thing, and men suppose another: which hath chaunced both vnto thee and to mee (O my sonne Heliogabalus:) because the childishnesse which thou doest vse, and the vices thou possessest, I did not onely thinke, thou wouldst not committe: but also, that in thy minde they shoulde neuer haue had passage. When I did place thee with the greatesse prieste Gorgias, caused thee to be arrayed in the sacred vesture, prayedst daily vnto the gods, and also euery weeke diddest offer sacrifice in the temple: I hoped thou shouldest haue proued a Paragon in vertue, and not (as thou arte) a monster in all vice.

If thou wouldst consider, many thinges do perswade, and also binde thee to be good, but nothinge prouoketh thee to be euill: that is to weete, to be a man reasonable, to haue beene a priest, to be borne in Rome, to be nowe an Emperour, to haue nourished thee in my house, and to be descended of blood so noble and generous: for it much prouoketh men to perforce that which they ought to do, & to remember from whence they be descended. Beleeue mee, my sonne, that with lesse cost, and more ease, thou shalt be vertuous, then vicious: because vices content the fleshe when they are committed, and torment the heart after they be perforced: but vertues

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yelde not so much griefe in their woorking, as pleasure when we haue giuen repulse vnto vice. I may not comprehend the froward fortune that foloweth thee, or the sorrowfull destinies which haue pursued mee: since I nourished thee in trueth, and thou prouest, and arte become a lyar: I bred thee chaste, and thou arte imbrued with impudicitie: I brought thee vp in temperance, & thou hast stained thy selfe with excesse and gluttonie: I trayned thee in shamefastnesse, and thou rendrest a life moste dissolute: and that which is woorst about the rest, thou doest neither feare to offende the Gods, or scandalize men. Admitting thou wouldest not be good, for any offence vnto the Gods that haue created thee, or anye griefe or scandal vnto men with whome thou doest liue: yet oughtest thou so to be, to remoue all heauinesse and displeasure from mee thy olde and sorrowfull grandmother: since thou knowest, I bought for thee the Empire, by the weight of money drawen out of my chestes, and by force of teares issuing & breaking from mine entrailes. My sonne, thou doest well knowe, that to make thee a Romane Prince, I gaue greates gifts vnto the temples, offered vnto the Gods infinite sacrifices, gaue vnto the Pretorians all my treasures, made vnto the Priestes great offers, & sent vnto the Senatours moste riche iewels, all which is nothing: for if it had beene possible, I would haue giuen my bloud vnto the immortall Gods, that thou mightest be one of them. And if I haue erred in purchasing the Empire, much more should I erre to make thee one of the Gods, since in thee no vertue is to be founde, either any vice wanting. The Gods haue made thee faire of face, gallant of proportion,

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stout of strength, learned in letters, expert in armes, valiant of heart, delicate in iudgement, and bolde in perils: but what profite all these graces, since thou art so greates an enimie of others counsel: and so farre enamored of thine owne proper iudgement? Thou followest vanitie, as one most inconstant: thou dost prosecute thine age, as one ouerchildishe: thou pursuest sensualitie, as one most wilfull in follies: which thing for a while may be dissembled, but long time may not be suffered: in such wise, that either the Empire shal be lost betwixt thine handes: or thou must dye within fewe dayes. As the seate of the Empire is consecrated vnto the Gods, so they suffer not euil Princes long to reigne: which thou mayst consider in Tyberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellus, Domitian, Commodus, Iulianus, Bassianus & Niger, al which had so euil an ende, that where the yron of the enimie entred, by the same place the soule departed. Oh my sorrowful and vnfortunate sonne Bassianus: of whome vntil this time I goe laden with sorrowes: and also thou hast to holde it for most certeine, that since thou arte a disciple of his euil manners, so shalt thou be also a follower of his most miserable death. Being verie young, and as then but a childe, I hearde my Lorde Marcus Aurelius verie oft saye, that the immortall Gods did sooner slaye euil Princes, then other wicked persons: because the euil man, is only euil vnto his owne house, and person: but the euil prince liueth to the hurte of the whole comon wealth. I bought not the Empire, for any other cause, but chiefly to renewe the memorie of the good Emperour Antoninus Pius: but alas alas of mee: whome greatly feare

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and

and also hold it for certeine, that as in Nero the generation of the Cæsars finished: euen so in thee the sincere linage of the Antonines shalbe ended.

In the dayes that I remained at Rome, I vnderstood, and since I came into Asia, I haue also seene, that by the prosperitie of a good man, many be aduanced: and by mishap of a wicked person, many finish and decaye.

I am aduertised, that in thy house and chamber, men of wicked life, and little wisdom, haue free entraunce and familiaritie: which in princes houses, is verie perillous, and no lesse pernicious: for that such persons do procure thee to followe the counsels which they shall giue, and to dissemble the excesse which they shall committe. If thou bee euill, and such as attende thee be wicked: howe maist thou haue hardinesse to chastice any euill? To reforme others, thou must firste reforme thy selfe: and to chastice others, thou hast firste to punish thy seruants: for that, if the priuate and fauoured seruants of Princes be dissolute, the common wealth doeth fall out to be absolute. In the reigne of my lorde Marcus Aurelius, I sawe his court furnished with verie wicked persons, and in the dayes of his sonne Commodus, I sawe his house filled with wicked people: and am well able to saye vnto thee, my sonne, that as their houses were, so was their common wealths. If thou wilt live in quiet, go alwayes in peace, and auoide suspicion: keepe in thine house continually men of honestie, grauitie, and wisdom, because honourable and wise men in Princes houses, yeelde authoritie with their persons, and profite with their counsels.

Nowe,

Nowe, or neuer, thou maist withdrawe thine hande, cease to be euil, and binde thy selfe to bee good: because of all that is past, we will impute the fault to thy youth: which if thou refuselt to do, then will wee referre it whollie vnto thy wilfull vanitie. It profiteth not a litle for the healpe of good gouernement of the common wealth, that the Prince be of good life: for subiects hauing good Princes, imitate what they see, and perfourme what they commaunde.

CHAP. XI.

Of certeine lawes which the Emperour
Heliogabalus made in
Rome.

Heliogabalus made certeine lawes, wherof some were god, some indifferent, and others neither good nor euill, but moste vaine: for as he vsed to saye, so greate authoritie haue Princes in their kingdomes, as the gods in the heauens. He made a lawe that no bestall virgine should make a vowe of chastitie, but to stande at her libertie to be inclosed, or to be married: for he helde opinion, that women were verie weake to perfourme vowes: and at euery houre, variable of opinion and aduise. He made a lawe, that no widowe might marrie within a yeare of her husbandes death: on the one parte sufficiently to bewaile the dead, and on the other parte, exactly to consider of him that shoulde marrie her. He made a lawe, that no fleshe, breade, wine, or any fruite shoulde be solde in Rome by biewe, but by weight and measure: because in selling of thinges by weight and measure, they are bought according to their value, and not as they are praised.

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He made a lawe that al taylers in receiuing garments to make, shoulde take the same by weight, to auoyd purloynning of any parte thereof. He made a lawe that no young man vnder the gouernement of father, mother, or tutour, might giue, take, or playe any money: because it were to be pzesupposed, that such a one, being in no possession of inheritance, had either stolne, or made some euil marte. He made a lawe that all maiides, hauing attained the age of xxb. yeares, might marrie, although their parents would not thereunto consent: for he used to saye, that good parents haue more care to marrie one daughter, then to breede x. sonnes. He made a lawe, that on holy dayes, and dayes of publique feastes and ioye, they should not openly burie their dead: saying, it were an euil signe vnto the common wealth, if at the time of ioy, or others should begin to weepe. He made a lawe, that no Romane should pzesume to thzowe out at doze, any seruauant, slaue, or horse, or any other beast, were it but a dogg, either for any olde age or sicknesse: saying, that for the same purpose, men serue from their youth, to be succoured when they come to age. He made a lawe, that punishment should not be giuen vnto thzeues as Judges commaunded, but at the wil of the persons which were robbed: affirming theaft to be so foule a fault, that by the hands of all persons they deserued chasticement. He made a lawe, that no citizen of Rome should pzesume to dzawe, to dzowne, to strangle, or hang his slaue for any offence: saying, that to the Gods alone, and to Princes, power is giuen to slaye and kill, and to others onely to punish. He made a lawe, that if any married woman should commit adulterie with any kinsman or friend of her husband, he might neither chastice, reproue or blame her, if shee pzoued that her husband had first brought him to h house: affirming: that a woman naturally of her selfe is weake, and beeing moued by any occasion, hath no power to make resistance. He made a lawe, that freely all manner of persons within the walles of Rome, might departe from

from their wiues, and their wiues from their husbands, after five yeares marriage: affirming, that since from yere to yere was a long time to chaunge a garment, it were not much, that from fixe to fixe yeres, there shoulde be chaunge of marriage. He made a lawe, that in all Rome they should haue no shoppe wherein to sell compoud medicines, but only temples and holesome hearbes, to auoide resemblance of tauerne, wherein they solde newe wines, but in shops only old medicines. He made a lawe, that none should marrie in Rome but with his equal: that is to saye, a merchant with a merchant, a goldsmith with a goldsmith, a seruauant with a seruauant, & a rusticall with a rusticall: for he helde opinion, that men, in making vnequall marriages, do inforce themselves to more then they may, and spend much more then they ought. He made a lawe, that when any house burned in Rome, all the neighbourhood should runne to the heale and succour thereof, vppon the paine of any mans default therein, to contribute to the repairing thereof. Many other lawes were made by Heliogabalus, as Historiographers of him do repozte, of greate indignitie to be wztiten, and no lesse vnshamefast to be reade.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Howe Heliogabalus was thrice married, and of his marrying of the Gods together.

After that Heliogabalus was come from Asia, he stayed in Rome an whole yeare without marriage: after which time he married with a gentlewoman of Rome, beautifull of face, and noble of bloud: and it well appeared, that he rather married her for beautie, then noblesse: for that a yeare beeing scarcely passed, he was diuoyced.

He did not onely remoue her from all honour, but also cast her out of his house, spoiled her of all her Jewels and apparel, and constrained her by spinning and weaving openly to get her living. The first wife being repudiate, he grew enamoured of one of the vestal virgins, whom he remoued out of the church, and openly espoused: for which fact, the Senate was not a little grieved, & Rome no lesse escandalized: because the vestal virgins, were offered in the temples vnto the Gods, and swozne and bound to perpetual chastitie. After he vnderstood the griefe of the Senate, and the murmuring of the people, he mounted one day into the Senate, and wished them not to be sorrowfull for his marriage with a vestall virgin, for that if it were an offence, it were but an humaine offence: and being (as he was) a Priest, it appertained not vnto him to marrie, but with a woman that were a Priest: and if that were not sufficient, yet it sufficed that he was a Prince and an Emperour mosse supreme, vnto whose greatnesse it appertained to make lawes, without all obligation to obserue them. Doze then a yere, and lesse then twaine, he was married vnto this vestall virgin: to whom, as to the first, he gaue a libell of diuorze: and the sorrowfull woman came to so greate and miserable povertie, that if the other did obtaine lining by spinning, this did purchase the same by adulterie: in such wise, that of a consecrated virgin, and of a noble Emperesse, she became a common adulteresse. He married the third time with a widowe, and matrone of Rome, and for better occasion he would oft saye, that she was descended from the lineage of Commodus: and that from thence forth he would not take a wife, but of blood very high, of beantie singular, and of condition mosse discrete. Heliogabalus would oft saye, any Prince might escape error in his first marriage: that is to saye, if she were of base condition, to esteeme her of no reputation: if she were foule, to abhorre her: and if she were folische, to kill her.

Heliogabalus proceeded vnto so greate madnesse, that he

he did not onely deride humane marriages, but also scoffed at diuine matrimonies: for that he determined openly to marrie his God Heliogabalus, and to celebrate matrimonic with some other Goddess. The case was thus, that the thing which the Romanes held vnder greatest garde, reuerence, and veneration, was the Image of the Goddess Pallas, which was saide to fall from heauen vppen the walles of Troye: this Image Heliogabalus commaunded to be taken out of the church, where she remained hidden, and to be transferred vnto his house; and from the day that she was brought from Troye, was neuer sene with mannes eye vntil that daye. He made a coche of plate ouer gilded, aloft whereon he placed the Goddess Pallas, apparelled in riche robes, and charged with mosse precious iewels: one of the Wren wherewith the coche was drawen, was white without any spott of blacke: and the other was blacke without any spott of white. Heliogabalus went before with a goad in his hande, guiding the Wren, and turning his face alwayes towards the Chariot, in such manner, that still to behold the Goddess, he marched backwardes. The Romanes vnderstanding, that Heliogabalus would that day playe the Carter, provided from the imperiall palace vnto the temple, a broad and a sandie waye, that in his backwarde walke he should not finde whereat to stumble, much lesse to fall. And when they were all come vnto the church, they took the God Heliogabalus, and the Goddess Pallas, married them, and layned them as man and wife, and made them a right sumptuous bedd in the midst of the temple, where they ioyntly slept all that night. The Romanes receiued no small griefe, to behold Heliogabalus committ such follies: for that presuming (as they presumed) to be so greate worshippers of the Gods, it seemed vnto them that in making such marriages, was to deride the Gods: and it might happen, that what he did but in iesse, they might repaye in earnest.

Howe, when these Gods were espoused, *Heliogabalus* would solemnize that marriage with ioyes: for which purpose, he commaunded the Circene playes to be prepared: wherein he commaunded infinite beastes to be slaine, and the fleshe of them all, both good & bad, to be eaten of all persons: in such wise, that there they did eate Lions, Beares, Woolues, Tygers, Unicoznes, Dunces, Hozes, Ases, Doggs, Beecues, Buffes, & other wilde beastes, Bozes excepted, which they vsed not to eate in Phoenicia, where he was bred and nourished. Howe, when all these feastes were finished, and all playes perfourmed and concluded, *Heliogabalus* would make a shewe of the greatnesse of his minde, and the wealth and riches of his person: and being aduanced vpon the highest steps or degrees of the church, he shewe amongst the circumstantes, a great summe of money, and no lesse riches in iewels: for the scrambling and getting wherof, manie were wounded, choked, strangled, and slaine: and the hurte was not so small, but that muche greater was the sorowe in Rome and all Italie, for the greate numbers whiche there died: then anie pleasure of the money whiche they had gotten.

CHAP. XIII.

Howe Heliogabalus folde offices, and practised manie vanities.

Heliogabalus did marre and sell all offices of iustice, & of the Senate, as well Censores & Coils, as Pretors and Tribunes, in such wise, that he which gaue most money, although lesse vertuous, did beare greatest office. It was a custome in Rome, to electe no Senatour, excepte he were in linage an auncient Patritian: and of age, at the leaste fiftie yeares: but he made his election (for the most parte) of base persons, as gardeners, potters, and taylers: and other

other young men of the age of xx. yeares. He did not onely sell the offices of the common wealth, but also of the gouernement of his house: as porters, cookes, eaters, chamberlains, and auditours: whereof folloved, that at times when he would dispatch them for their euill seruice, they would plead, that they had bought it of him for monie.

Heliogabalus being a friend vnto iesters, and greatly delighting in their conuersation, it happened against the celebration of the feast of May, in the euen thereof, xx. cartes loades of Roses were brought vnto the Court, which being cast all into one chamber, against the next dayes feast, he commaunded those iugglers and iesters to be sholwen amongst those Roses, which being many, and they ouerwhelmed therein, were all strangled with Roses. He did neuer eate but at tables of siluer, or sit in chaire that was not wrought with siluer, gold, and Unicorne: and all the provision of pots, skillets, ladels, spits, and all other things of the kitchen, were of siluer, and his cookes in silke. Secretely *Heliogabalus* commaunded an hundred pitchers of flies to be taken, and being brought to the Court, he feasted certaine Romanes: and being then Summer and time of great heate, and in chiefest of their dinner, he commaunded his hungrie flies to be set at large, who with their libertie gaue an onset vpon the guestes, as vpon a campe of enimies, in such wise, that the guestes gaue themselves to flight, and the flies sate downe to eate.

On the day of the great feast of his God, all the sacred Senate, and whole multitude of people, offering sacrifices in the temple, and all the doores fast shut, suddenly he caused to be set loose amongst þe troups of people, an hundred cattes, tenne thousand rattes, an hundred greyhounds, & a thousand hares: where the fight and slaughter was so great, and the confusion, rumble, and crie of people so extreme, that it seemed, hee went rather to scorne the Gods, then offer sacrifices.

The chamber where he slept, his Gallerie where he walked, the place where he did eate, & also dispatche affaires,

was alwayes swept, not with bzornies of any cōmen matter, but of thzreds of gold: which office he gaue vnto one of the chiefest persons of his Court. When he would at any time walke a litle on softe, it was not on hard ground, but on sand of gold. Heliogabalus was not satisfied to weare shoes of any silke, or beluct, either of clothe of gold, or gold wrought with the hāmer: but the soles were of Vnicorne, and gold of Nilus: and the instep and vpper part therof set with pearle and most rich stones: in such wise, that Heliogabalus shoes were of more value, then the crowne of Iulius Caesar, or Augustus. He was much addicted to weare rings on his fingers, and sometimes would weare them of bzasse, yron, lead, amber, and of leather: in such wise, that this prince, the more to discover his madnesse, did weare shoes of gold, and ringes of lether. On a time there came from Alexandria, 10. shippes laden with great and most precious riches: and vnderstanding that they were arrived at the porte of Hostia, secreatly he commaunded the mariners to sucke them: whereof beeing repzoued in the Senate, hee answered: that thereby they had to vnderstand his small couetousnes, for that he spent the riches of the earth, and drowned that which came by Sea. Heliogabalus was prodigall and curious, not onely openly, but also in secrete: for that his Urinall was of Vnicorne, and his stole of fine gold. When he chaūced to issue out of Rome, he had wth him no lesse then 600. wagons, which were all laden, not with cheltes, apparel, either any thing necessarie or apperteyning vnto persons of the Courte: but with women, iesters, musicians, hunters, fishers, exquisite wines, and victuals neuer heard off: for that he neuer went forth of Rome to visite countries, or conquere enemies, but to seeke delectable places, the more freely to giue him selfe to vice. A certaine Senatour demaunding why hee vsed such excesse in spending, he made him answer: My friend, I giue thee to vnderstand, that none doth inherite but after the death of some person: and therefore I will in my life time, make my self mine owne heire.

The

The armies did not a little repent them to haue elected him Emperour, and the Senate no lesse to haue accepted and allowed the same: for that he was so wilfull in all thinges, that he was not onely satisfied to be vicious in all humane vices: but watched and studied to inuent newe wickednes. Mesia the grandmother of Heliogabalus, wth she procured, or (to say better) bought him the Empire, had sufficiently aduised and also perswaded him to be good and vertuous: but hee was so obstinate in his euill, and so bowed and dedicated vnto vice, that he litle esteemed the counsell of his friends, either the thzearnings of his enemies.

When his graundmother Mesia perceined, that good persuations would neither profite, either great thzearnings pearce him with any feare, shee remembred to fixe her eyes vppon her other nephue named Alexander, that the one being dead, the other might succede: for shee helde it for most certeine, that in selue dayes, respect being had of his many vices, his Empire should finishe. As Mesia was auncient, prouident, and of experience: so shee perswaded Heliogabalus with such wordes, that he accepted his cousin Alexander as companion of the Empire, which election the Senate appzoued and allowed with great affection, and no lesse gratefull vnto the whole people: and from thence forth, although they obeyed Heliogabalus, yet they did yeald al their loue vnto his cousin Alexander. Heliogabalus being aduertised by certeine spekromantike Priestes of Aegypt, that he should haue a death according vnto his life. (whereby, he doubted that his life should be short, and his death shamefull:) began to reuise with him selfe, what kinde of death might be giuen him by his enemies: and considered, that either they would cutt his thzote, or hang him, or cast him downe frō some rocke, or drowne him, or end his dayes wth some payson: & thus it was, he filled a ponde full of rose water, where in to be drowned: at the softe of a Tower of his house, he placed golden sande, to fall on: he made twisted

silke.

silke halsters wherewith to be hanged: hee commaunded daggers and swozdes of gold, wherewith to be slaine: and conferued poyson in Unicozne boxes, wherewith to be poysoned: all which he pꝛouided of purpose, that at the time of neede he might one way or other end his wretched life: for (as he bled to say) he greatly did not esteeme to die, if with such, and so statelie instruments he might be put to death. But the successe happened quite contrarie to the forecastes of Heliogabalus, as well in dying when hee would not, as in the manner of his death, whereof he did not thincke: for it is a thing notozious vnto all men, that we may neither enlarge our life as we desire, either shunne that death which we abhorre.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ Of the shamefull death of the Emperour Heliogabalus.

After that Heliogabalus had accepted his cousen Alexander companion of the Empire, he not a litle repented him thereof: for that hee clearely perceined himselfe to bee abhorred, and his cousen greatly beloued; he determinately purposed to depꝛiue Alexander of his honour, as also to deuise a dyist to dispatch him of his life. Manca, the mother of Alexander, vnderstanding the extreme hatred of Heliogabalus so furiously bent against her sonne Alexander, had ouer him great regard, that he should not walke alone by night, accompany suspicious persons, feede of any meate that were preferred, or passe by dangerous places: because she was assured, y^e to kill him, Heliogabalus sought not occasion, but opportunitie.

After that Heliogabalus found the great gard & watch of the mother and grandmother ouer Alexander, he went on a day vnto the Senate, perswading with swete words, and after commaunding vpon great paines, to take that name Caesar from Alexander, which they had giuen him:
this

this demaunde being heard of the whole Senate, every man caste downe his head, and answered not so much as one word. When he sawe the Senate refuse his request, he did write a letter vnto the Pꝛfects, and most pꝛincipal of the armies, to giue them to vnderstand that from thenceforth they should giue no honour vnto Alexander, much lesse yeeld him seruice as vnto Caesar: but the armies finding it rather to pꝛoccede of his ouermuch malice, then of any fault in Alexander, did not obey his commaundements, neither answered his letters.

When hee might not persuade the Senatours, or constrain the armies, he aduised to buye and corrupt his seruants and household officers, pꝛomising them many and great rewarde, if they would temper his meate with some poyson, to rid him of his life. He conferred also with the tutors of Alexander, to finde if he might frame them to lead him forth in to some Wyche or gardeine, or to seeke some deuice to leaue him alone: vnto whome he did not only pꝛomise great riches & wealth, but also pꝛomotions to great offices. Heliogabalus perceiuing that hee mighte neither corrupt the one, or persuade the other, for that hee was loued of al men, commaunded his counterfects openly to be ouerthrowen and defiled with dyte: whiche was holden amongst the Romanes, as great an iniurie, as exactly to take away a mans life.

On that day in which Heliogabalus had commaunded the counterfects of Alexander to be defaced and defiled, he prepared also in secrete, certaine his friends to kill Alexander, if vpon the chaunce of any mutinie that might happen, hee should come forth: for he did beare him so mortall hatred, that it seemed his life to prosper to none effect, if he might not spoile him of his life. The day before this matter grewe to effect, Heliogabalus issued out of Rome, to sojace at a gardeine: and when they began to ouerthrowe and traile the pictures of Alexander, the Pꝛetors of the armies assembled with great speede, to stay the same: by which meane there was raised no small scandal, in so much

much that they did not onely repell that iniurie, but also pursued Heliogabalus vnto his garden to haue slaine him. All Rome being armed, the mother and grandmother of Heliogabalus, departed with great hast vnto the garden, where he was perswading him to take Alexander in a Litter, and ioyntly to passe through the streets: that after this maner, seing them both friends, the armies might be pacified and dissenned. Heliogabalus being utterly boide of care of the scandal that passed in Rome, attended rather e- uery houre with great ioy, & newes of Alexanders death, and the spoile of his pictures. As much as Heliogabalus determined to haue slaine Alexander, so much were the armies purposed to haue killed Heliogabalus: and soz the execution thereof, with great furie they marched to seke him at his garden: vnto whom there came sozth to talke, not himselte, but his grandmother, of whom she obteyned at that time the safetie of his life: which they graunted vpon condition, that hee should correct his person, refozme his house, and visite the common wealthes. On the next day, they caste sozth and ridd the house of Heliogabalus, of Gabalus, Herodes, Gordius, and Murius, which were his fauoured seruantes, and companions of his vices: and those in deede, that from a scote, conuerted him into an- diot. A moneth after these things had passed, and the tu- mult pacified, in the Calends of Ianus, which is the begin- ning of Januarie, Heliogabalus refused to go vnto the Se- nate, either to send Alexander his substitute: whereof the Senatours found themselves greatly iniured, & remay- ned thereof very suspicions.

And being as then very late at night, when the Sena- tours came from the Senate, they there presently at the gates thereof, receiued commaundement from Heliogabalus, that without all delay vpon paine of their liues, they should depart out of the citie of Rome, without visi- tation either of house or friend: and as there were of them both sicke and old, so it was lamentable to behold them wander in the darcke, stumbling in those fields, and so

bitter:

bitterly weeping. The Consuls and Senatours being ba- nished, there remayned in Rome a certaine auncient Con- sul named Sabinus, a man excellently learned, vnto whom Vlpianus did dedicate his booke, and of whome the Ro- manes receiued counsell, in all their graue affaires. This Sabinus, by reason of his great age, came not out of his house: and Heliogabalus thincking hee had no other eni- mie remayning in all Rome, called a Centurion, and said in his eare, that hee should go vnto Sabinus house and cut off his head: and as it chaunced, the Centurion being deafe, and not vnderstanting the commaundement to haue him slaine, but banished as the othe Senatours, by defence of the Centurion, Sabinus escaped with his life.

The Pretorians and men of warre being aduertised, that Heliogabalus had banished the Consuls and Sena- tours, and also commaunded the good old Sabinus to bee slaine, strangled Siluius, tutor vnto Alexander, and re- moued Vlpianus from his Censorship: with furious rage wente vnto the Courte, and breaking the gates they slue Heliogabalus, and his mother that bare him: and they killed, not onely all his seruantes, but also his cattes and dogges, his Barratts, hozes, peacocks, and monies: in such wise, that in all his house they lefte nothinge aliue.

When Heliogabalus vnderstode the breaking vp of his gates, and the slaughter of his household, thincking to saue his person, hid himselte in a priue vp to the chinne, where they discharged him of his head: in such wise, that conso- mable to his filthie life, hee receiued a nastie death. Although Heliogabalus and his mother were ioyntly slaine, yet most truly she discovered a moze noble minde: for that she died in her chamber as a Ladie, and too most colward- ly in a priue. Heliogabalus and his mother being dead, they tooke their naked & mangled bodies, and trailed them in the dirt alongest the streets vnto Tiber, in the depth whereof they were cast to be eaten of fische, and not to bee sought or found of men.

Many Princes, his predecessours, & successours were very
guill,

euill, wicked of life, and pernicious vnto the comon wealthe: but amongst all, Heliogabalus alone was hee, in whome was found no good worke: so he alone wanted a Sepulchre. By this p[ri]nce, all p[ri]nces ought to take example, to flee wilfulnesse, and the hatred of their people: because a detested life remoueth all merite of honourable buriall.

The Romanes not satisfied to haue slaine, d[ea]wen, and d[ea]wned Heliogabalus, ouerthrew and whirled stones at his counterfects that were placed in the Capitol, & scraped out his name in all places where it was written: and the more to discover their hatred, they did not onely kil all his seruantes and friends, but burned all his apparell and jewels: in such wise, that of him remayned no other memorie in Rome, but the report of his name, whereat they did spit on the ground.

Heliogabalus reigned 6. yeares, 3. monethes, and tenne dayes: he liued 32. yeares, 4. monethes, and fve dayes: wherof 26. yeares he was a young man, very vertuous, & a p[ri]est with d[ea]wen and also solitarie: the other 6. yeares hee was an Emperour more absolute and vicious, then euer reigned in the Romane Empire: for that the vices which were scattered in other persons, were found ioyned ly in his possession.

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The life



trone Manca, compiled by Syr Anthonie of Guara, bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler and counsellour, vnto the Emperour Charles the fiste.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the nouriture and naturall countrey of the Emperour Alexander Seuerus.



AVRELIVS Alexander was naturally an Assyrian borne, his father was named Varius, and his mother Manca: hee was cousen germane vnto the emperour Heliogabalus, for their mothers were sisters: and although he were borne in Assyria, yet he was bred and nourished in Rome: for that in those dayes his grandmother, the great matrone Melia, governed Seuerus & his household, and also the whole common wealthe. Alexander was tall of body, of blacke curled haire, fallow & leane faced, with great eyes, a thicke short necke, his hands drie, and of bigge sinewes, slender legged, high of instep, and his complexion somewhat cholerike, but much flegmatike, which afterwards he discovered in the course of his life: because he was mild of conuersation, and in gouernement pitifull. Alexander was borne in the citie of Arlena, Septimus Seuerus being Emperour: hee was nourished the first foure yeares in Assyria, & then brought vnto Rome, vnder the gouernement of his grandmother, where after she had kept him with her, other thre yeares in Rome, she returned him into Assyria: partly to annoyde the idle nouriture of the Court, and also for that Bassianus should not murder him. The p[re]lages of his Empire

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were

were these: it was found most truly, that on the day that Alexander Magnus died, this Alexander Aurelius was borne: & at the time of child birth his mother came to visite the Sepulchre of Alexander, where she fell in trauell and brought forth this sonne, who was named Alexander, his nurse being called Olympia, and his tutour Philip: which were the two names of the father & mother of Alexander Magnus. The selfe same day that Alexander was borne, there came an old woman to her house, and offered vnto his mother a red egge, which a stock doue had layd at y^e houre: aduouching that red egge to signifie no other matter, but y^e the same child should be Emperour. Manca the mother of this prince, was a woman very wise, prudent, aduised, and no lesse faire: and the speciall cause why shee deserved so greatly to be esteemed and honoured, was: because no Romane woman did exceede her in honestie of person, either was equal vnto her in keeping her house. As this matrone Manca naturally was vertuous, and inclined vnto god, so she had great solicitude to nourishe & instruct her sonne Alexander in good maners, and to learne good and profitable sciences: and to the end he should not forget, in the company of other yonge men, what he had learned of his masters and tutors, she set great watch, that none were permitted, either to talke, conser, or to be conuersant with him, y^e were not wise & learned. After that Alexander was able to goe, his mother taught him to be temperate in diet, neat in his apparel, reposed in his pace, and reformed in his speech. He held so great measure in all thinges apperteyning to good maners, sinceritie in vertues, and cleanness from all vice, (which that age alwayes doth yeld) y^e all men (vnto whom he was knowen) said, that it was as much to see Alexander in time of his youth, as Tullius when he was an old man. It was not to be found all the time hee was governed by his mother, that any one day hee did passe without learning or exercise, either in letters or cheualrie: wherof they both deserved perpetuall praise, which is to witte, the mother in her commaundements, & the sonne for his obedience.

Many

Many sonns would proue good, if their fathers had knowledge to giue them instructions: neither would so many proue euil, if they did yeeld obedience vnto their parents: to whiche purpose the diuine Plato said in his bookes of common wealth, that that familie was happie & blessed, where the parents were prudent, & the children obedient. Manca vsed most speciall vigilancie in the gard of her sonne, not onely from all vsual vices, but also vicious persons: for that many times, good inclinations are corrupted by vicious conuersation. In his infancie, his scholemasters were Valerius, Gordius, & Viturius: this Viturius was he that afterwarde was most esteemed in his house, and wrote the discourse of his life, which historie was lost when the Gothes entered Rome. His maister for Gramar, was Nebon the Grecian: in Philosophie, Estelion the first: and in theozike, Serapio the vertuous: & afterwarde when he came to Rome, he had for his masters, Escarius, Julius, and Marcinus: graue persons to instruct, & learned to teach. Aboue all other Romane princes, Alexander was a friend of wise men, for whom he made diligent searce, & enriched them if they were poore, honoured, entertained, & gaue them credit when they counsellled him: finally, a wise maⁿ of him neuer receiued an ill answer, or found in his house any doer that against him. Being demaunded, why he did so generally delight in the wise & learned, he answered: I loue them for that which they know, & honour them for that which they may: for in time to come, vnder their histories which they shall write, our name shal shine and flourish. Alexander, in the dayes of his youth, was peadly hated of his cousin Helioabalus: & this proceeded, not of the sharpe cognition of Alexander, but for the euil nature of Helioabalus: that is to say, for that he would not consent to be a companion in his wickednes, as by birth he was his kinsman. There were neuer seene two princes so conioyned in parentage, so nere in succession, & so different in liues, as Helioabalus, & Alexander: for y^e in Helioabalus there was not one vertue to be praised, either in Alexander one vice to be reprehended.

Chap.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

¶ Howe Alexander was aduanced vnto the Empire, and of his laudable manners.

Two yeares befoze the Pretorians killed Heliogabalus the Emperour, Alexander was elected Augustus, to þ great grace, liking, and conformitie of al the Romane people: whereof proceeded, that on the day in which they had slaine the vnworthie Heliogabalus, they gaue vnto Alexander the ensignes of the empire. When Alexander began to reigne, he was very younge: wherefoze, Messia the mother, and Manea the mother, did take the charge & gouernement of the empire: who although in condition they were womē, yet most truly in gouernement they discouraged themselves to be men. They elected xij. persons to assist them in the affaires of the Empire, which were chosen amongst the auncient, the most experte: & amongst þ learned, the most wise: & without determination & iudgment of all these, they did neither heare what was demaunded, either determined any matter that they had to doe. The first deue of Alexander, & his grandmother Messia, his mother Manea, & his xii. counsellours, was, to take order for reformation of temples: namely, to repaire the decayed, to cleanse the defiled, inrich such as were robbed, and to populate such as were disinhabited: because in the dayes of his predecessour Heliogabalus, not only humaine matters went to wracke, but the gods also were pofaned. Diuine matters being reformed, presently they toke order for conservation of the comon wealth: & befoze all things, all vicious persons were resoluēd from their offices: and not satisfied to punish their offences, with deprivation of their offices, he forced them to make restitution of whatsoeuer they had either bribed, or purloyned, & from thenceforth to liue of their owne proper sweate. Matters of iustice were not handled, but of men very well learned: Partiall affaires were not commended, but vnto men of great experience: causes

causes of the common wealth were not manured, but of persons skilfull therein: in such wise, that they provided, not offices for men, but men for offices.

Also Alexander reformed the whole condition & estate of his house, as well the ministers, as the expences thereof: which all the dayes of Heliogabalus exceeded in disorder, & was no lesse defiled with vice: for which cause he set a seazment of the charges thereof, and elected faithfull officers to spend the same: in such wise, that in the house of Alexander, there was neither immoderate expences, either men wanting offices. Although order was taken for the ordinarie expences of his house, yet notwithstanding, his household had all things in abundance, conuenient vnto his imperial magnificence: and many strangers that came from farre, praised Alexander, because they might not accuse him of prodigalitie, either note him of auarice. The temples, the common wealth, and his house being ordered, the good prince forgot not to reforme his owne person: not only for the maner of consuming of time, but also for þ order and maner of his apparel: for that he vsed to say, if the monie which princes spend in robes superfluous, & the time which they consume in apparelling & decking themselves, were spent to the profite of their common wealthes, they should obtaine more fauour of the gods, & lesse hatred of men. Alexander was so humble in condition, & publickly he commaunded, none should call him, Lord, either by word or writing: but, the priests should call him, brother: the Senators, sonne: men at armes, companion: and common persons, friend: and this he did, for that he held the gods in so great reuerence, that he would they only should be called Lords. On the superscriptiōs of letters brought him by Embassadors, or sent him from any prouince, they wrote theron exquisite and stately titles: wherein he provided, no other superscription to be added, but this: Vnto our sonne, our Brother, our Companion or Friend, Aurelius Alexander Romane Emperour. Heliogabalus his predecessour, did commonly weare precious stones on his fecte, and most

costly Jewels of gold and Vnicorne in his apparel: whiche thinges Alexander neuer vsed, either delighted to weare: for as he was wont to say, princes are not to be knowen of their vassals, by their rich robes, but by their good works performed in their common wealthes. He was apparelled most commonly, in white: in winter, with a certaine kind of blakket of Britaine, and in summer, with a certaine manner of cotton that was brought him from Asia. Some times he would make him garments of cotton & linnen wouen together: oftentimes saying, that he much delighted therein, for that it was very cheape to be bought, light to weare, & might best be washed in summer. He would many times walke in Rome with a friend or twaine, holding his hands behind: and finding himselfe wearie, would enter into the first neighbours house, and sit downe vpon a banke of earth, & some times would there fall a sleepe: in such maner, that he had so great familiaritie with all men, as if he had bene one of them. He was mild, pitiful, patient, silent, in all things of great continencie, & was neuer seene extremely discomfited, or at any time to vse furious words to any person: for which cause, no maner of person did wish him euil for his euil deeds, but of a cankered and corrupt nature wherewith he was defiled.

CHAP. III.

¶ How Alexander being inuested with the Empire, presently did visite and reforme his common wealth.

In the second yeare of his Empire of Alexander, his grandmother the great and renowned matrone Melia died: in whose death he & the Romane people also discovered great sorrow, bestowing vpon her corpse, so honourable a funeral, and such solemn obsequies, as appertained to one that had bene councellor vnto the Emperour Severus, and had for nephewes the Emperour Heliogabalus, and Alexander. Melia being dead, the burden of gouernement was layed vpon

vpon Manca, mother vnto Alexander: to whom all men conceined to be in full possession of chastitie, temperance, prudence, and patience, but notwithstanding somewhat inclined to auarice: whereof proceeded, these words earely in the morning to be written vpon the gates: if Manca had not charge of monie in the common wealth, such a Romane had neuer bene borne in Rome. Long time passed in which the Senate had not bene visited: which Alexander forgot not, as wel to visite, as also to reforme: not only by inquisition how they liued and gouerned the common wealth, but also how they ordered their houses & ruled their families: for he vsed oft to say, that the man which knewe not to gouerne his wife, to provide for his house, and direct his familie, the prince might not commit a greater follie, then to place such a one in the gouernment of the common wealth. In Rome they were named *Milites veterani*, that long time had serued in warres, and were withdrawen vnto their houses: these were mainteyned at the charges of the common wealth, and priuiledged for apparance before a Iudge: and as Alexander was insourmed of their licentious and vicious liues, he commaunded them to be banished Rome, and no more to be mainteyned by the common wealth. When he signed the sentence of their exile, with his owne hands, he added these words: It is as iust that the vicious and wicked, from a free man, be conuerted to a slaue: as the vertuous from a bond man, to be made free: for where there is corruption of manners, liberties haue no place: Most truly these wordes were spoken, as of a prince right worthy veneration. Also he visited the officers of the common treasure, as if we should say, the Auditors and others that had charge of the goods of the kingdome: amongst whom he found many bribers, and needlesse officers: those he commaunded to be punished, and these to be disfranchised. Alexander was greatly affectionate vnto the affayres of the common wealth: with which zeale he vsed so great diligence, that the goods of the common wealth were recovered & gotten againe from the handes of robbers, and

spent and employed in matters profitable: for it was his opinion, y Good princes ought not to consent, that vagabounds should live of the entrails of the people. He wrote vnto all prouinces, that in all ciuill causes, Iudges should proceede according to the order and right therof, thāues & matters of felonie excepted: who within thre dayes after their apprehension, should either be punished, executed, made slaues for the seruice of men, or condemned to comon woorks for publique profite, and for no cause to let them escape: for as he oft said, Neuer mā which had made a prooffe in the knowledge of theste, vntill his death, might at any time depart from so foule a vice. He also visited the officers, that had the charge of pay for the men of warre: against whome he receiued accusations for payment of euil monie, imbezeling of payes, reckoning the dead with the lining, and valuing their victuals more then they were woorth: whome Alexander commaunded openly to be whipt, and for euermore to be banished. He established by publique edicte, that whosoever should adventure from thenceforth to steale, or imbezill any painment due for matters of warre, should for the same, lose his life. All thinges which he had to commaunde, or prouide in the common wealth, hee did first communicate with such persons as hee thought to haue knowledge and experience thereof: and his manner was to say, that in following his owne prosper iudgment, he had neuer but tedious success: but by repaying vnto other mens aduise, hee alwayes gathered some fruite.

Hee held in his house many, and very notable persons, of whome alwayes hee was accompanied: but amongst al whome he best loued, and did most commend his secretes, was Vlpianus: this Vlpianus, besides his great learning, was a man so vertuous, that Alexander would oft say, hee had rather adventure the committing of some odious deede before the Gods, then speake a foule woorde in presence of Vlpianus.

His predecessour Heliogabalus, had ordeyned many lawes

lawes in the fauour of the fiscall, to the greate prejudice of the people: for, admitting that goods were augmented: yet on the other parte, the common wealth daily diminished: for which cause Alexander commaunded, that all those lawes should be reuiewed, considered, and reformed: for, as he vsed to saye, it were more commodious for the Prince which is no tyrant, that his comon wealth be riche, and his house poore: then the common wealth to be poore, and his house riche. When he beganne to reigne, the people were abandoned to dissolute manners: for which cause he made some rigorous lawes, and other milde and pittifull: but, when he commaunded them to be proclaimed openly, he gaue aduertisement vnto his ministers, to execute them in secrete. Consider not so much what I commaund you, as the intent wherewith I commaund you, which is to weete, that rigorous lawes are not, but to terrifie: but lawes which are pitifull, to be executed, because we make not lawes, to take away mennes liues, but to roote and weede vices out of our common wealthes.

When the Senatores did sitt in graue affaires, he was not contented that they should saye their opinions by woorde, but by writing: neither was he yet satisfied that they should set it down in writing, but adde also therunto y reasons which moued them to y their opinion: saying, he did it to this ende, that none should adventure to yeld his opinion, either forced with affection, or corrupted with passion: but as reason and vertue should direct him. Naturally, he was an enimie vnto lyes and lyers: and if any man presumed to lye in his presence, he receiued thereof as great despight, as though he had done him an iniurie. He would oft saye, that good Princes haue to extreme such for greater enimies, that deceiue them with flattering and lyes, then such as do intrude vpon their countries: for the one taketh not but of his goods, but the other robbeth him of his fame. At all times, when they had talk of the election of any Senatur or Iudge, he was

Eg. b. alwayes

alwayes hearde to speake these wordes in the Senate: If, as nowe being present with men, I were in presence of the Gods, I would craue their opinions in the electiō of Senatours and Iudges: for that the choice of gouernours in a common wealth, doth more seeme diuine, then humaine election.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of the milde conditions of Alexander,
and of his gratefull conuer-
sation.

Alexander was friendly vnto his seruants, whome he would visite indifferently in their sicknesse: that is to witte, as well the meaner, as the more fauoured: and in repayment of such his visitation, he would request them to giue him aduertisement what was saide of him in the common wealth: and if they saide vnto him any thinge more wortie amendement, then praise, he gaue them as greate thanks for that aduise, as at another time he vsed to giue for any greate and notable seruice. The Consul Vncioasson, on a certeine time in great secreete, saide vnto Alexander: I am not a little astonied at thee, (most serene Prince) that doest permitt thy selfe to bee gouerned of thy graundmother Mesia, thy mother Manea, and thy wife Meania: who haue framed thy conditions so milde, that thereby thou doest impaire the estimation, both of thy person, and also of thine Empire: for that a base and ouerfamiliar condition, leadeth vnto contempt.

Vnto this Alexander answered: I owe reuerence vnto my graundmother, because shee nourished mee: vnto my mother, for that shee bred mee: & vnto my wife good companie, for as much as she hath married with mee: and
since

since it is thus, with reason I ought of no man to be euill iudged, for that I do no more but duetie.

From the daye that he was elected Emperour, vntill he was placed in his Sepulchre, there passed no day when he did not some notable dede wortie to be marked, and no lesse to be followed: which is to saye, hearing causes in Justice, visiting temples, being resident in the Senate, repaying walles, pardoning offences, dooing good vnto the poore, and dispatching such other affaires. Hee was bountifull to Ambassadors and straungers, and no lesse reformed in his ordinarie expences: aboue the rest, he helde narrowe and straight reckoning, and was well aduised with the officers of his common treasure, alwayes to haue in possession treasure in store. Hee saide manie times, that the poore and needie Prince might neither be serued affectionately of his subiectes, or with armes resist his enemies.

Vnto such as were sound, & strong to trauell, and yet wanted money to mainteine a trade, hee commaunded them to be succoured with the goods of the common treasure: vpon condition, to repaye the same in proceesse of time, with the fruites and profites of his trade: by which meane he discharged his Empire, not onely of many poore persons, but also of thēues and vagabondes. All persons that receiued either wages or stypende, he had registred in a booke: wherein was written their age, linage, and seruice which they had done him, vsing when he was alone, to read in that booke: in such wise, he did so speake, name, and had notice of all persons, as if they had bene but one man.

The common store house for wheate, and oyle, founded and furnished by Seuerus, Heliogabalus had bothe wasted and destroyed: in such wise, that there remained nothing in store: this storehouse Alexander reedified, endued, and also prouided with exceeding greate abundance of wheate and oyle: so that in his dayes, wheate and oyle did flowe and abound as water.

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The Jewes that were in Italie, of all men were euill handeled, and the Christians no lesse persecuted and banished: nowe, when bothe the one and the other made complaint, Alexander commaunded them to liue within their lawes: vpon such condition, as they perfourmed their ceremonies in secrete. He did much honour the Presidents of prouinces, and when he trauelled vpon the way, they onely were placed with him in his Coche or litter: which he did, to the ende that all men might beholde howe much he honoured the ministers of Iustice, as also to be informed of the state of the common wealth of that countrie: for that naturally, he was so greate a friend, in that which touched the common wealth, that he did not onely take pleasure to prouide and talke thereof, but also held it for a vice, to be forgetfull of the same. He vnto no kinde of people so great liberalitie, as vnto Judges, Tribunes, and Pretors, which had charge, and were sincere in ministring Iustice: and aduouched vnto the Senate, that a Prince with reason ought not to bee intituled a Prince, vnlesse he were carefull for the execution of Iustice: and if he finde any that is iust in the administration thereof, such a one iustly may not be recompenced: for which cause, I giue them moze then any other persons which serue me, that by their enrichment, all occasions to make other men poore, from them may be remoued. In the behalfe of the common wealth he was aduertised, that beefe and bacon was exceeding deere in Rome: in respect whereof he straitely charged and commaunded, that no person should aduenture to kill either calfe or sucking pig, by the space of two yeres: whercof it came to passe, within the space aforesaide, that a pounce of flesh, which was solde for eight, was worth but twaine. Of men y seemed graue, prudent, and sincere, he would alwayes be informed & receiue aduise, for prouision of all graue and doubtfull cases, and yet would neuer communicate or commend his trust to any speciall persons: for he vnto saye, that when the people do vnderstand, that the prince

is

is counsell'd or directed by any one person, such a one, with giftes and requestes may easily be corrupted.

Alexander had a seruant named Belon, who promised a gentleman to dispatch a certeine matter of great importance with Alexander, that touched him not a little, giuing to vnderstande, that he was verie priuate with the Prince: and in remuneration of his promised trauell, hee receiued of that gentleman a greate summe of money: whereof Alexander being aduertised, and that which hee promised to obtaine, to be a matter most vniust, & no small offence vnto the common wealth, he commaunded him to be crucified: affirming, that none should dare to aduenture to sell the fauour of the Prince, to the prejudice of the common people. He would many times assemble the chiefe of the people, and warne them to be vertuous, noble minded, and pitifull vnto the common sorte: aduertising them, that assuredly he would deale with the vertuous, as with sonnes, and with the wicked, as with enemies.

Three times hee gaue vnto the Romane people, greate quantities of wheate, in time of greate dearth. Also, at other times he gaue, of his grace, vnto the ancient hoisemen, great summes of money: vnderstandinge the greatestt parte of them to be in debt. There were in Rome many persones that liued not, but by vsurie, by which meane much goods were lost, and many houses become tributarie: wherein Alexander commaunded exceeding diligence to be vsed in the reuiewe of such contracts, and a memoriall of the most notable griefes to be giuen him: which when he had considered, he punished the vsurers, and gaue libertie vnto the poore men that were oppressed.

The manner of his dispatche in affaires, was, to be patient in hearing, mylde in answering, skilfull in conceiuing, and pitifull in denying: in such wise, that if he gaue not that which they demaunded, at the least he gaue them comfort with his wordes. After he came from the

Senate

Senate, and had dispatched the affaires of suters, he did alwayes passe the time in reading Greeke rather then Latine: amongst all other thinges which he vsed to reade, was Plato his comon wealth, Cicero his offices, Horace, and Quintus Curtius, with the life of Alexander: whom (his vices excepted) he diligently did imitate. If he sawe any of his officers, that for age, or impotencie, might not serue: he did either call him or visite him, giuing him many thanks for the seruice which he had done him: and would request him to take it in good parte, to receiue his whole stipend, with ease and rest in his owne house: and to place some other in that office, mozte for his seruice. Usually he did eate twise a daye, and in his feeding moze cleanly and curious, then costly and sumptuous: and neuer was offended with his officers, for the lacke of many, or exquisite meates: but for want of cleanlinesse, and good seasoning.

Many persons wandring in Rome, and vagarant throughout all Italie, yde as cassalwayes, who dis-
paining to learne some occupation after they were so charged by commandement: hee gaue licence vnto all men, without further authoritie, to take them for their slaues: which if they renounced, then fræly to kill them. He did permitt none of his seruantes to weare any silke, clothe of golde, or siluer: for that he oft vsed to saye, that open excessse of apparel, and secrety vice, were the destruction of Courtiers. Also he often aduouched, the condition of a good Prince was, more to be recreated with hearing wise men talke, then in tasting delicate meates. Alexander had
in his house a certeine person named Veturius Turinus,
whome he loued: against him going and coming to
his chamber, no doze was shutt: this fellowe was both
guylefull and lying, and made all men, that were suters
vnto Alexander, beleue that he had moze conference with
him, then with any person of the Empire.
The case was thus, that Alexander being aduertised
of his vanitie and lewdnesse, and howe he deceiued, and
was

was bribed of many, caused a foffer to request Turinus
to dispatche a certeine suite with Alexander: who com-
ming and going daily into the Princes chamber, alwayes
aduertised the suter: thus, and so I haue saide in thy mat-
ter, and thus and so was I answered of Alexander:
the good Prince had true intelligence what Turinus be-
sed to saye, and of the bribes which he had receiued: where-
upon presently he prouided that Turinus was taken, and
in his presence by witnesse conuined of the guyle and de-
ceite which he had committed, of his huge promises al-
so, and howe much he had robbed: which inquisition ex-
actly made, he commanded him to be fixed aloft vpon a
stake openly in Rome, and vnder him was set greene
woode and wette strawe, which being set on fire, did
yelde vnto his nose a mozte cruell smoke, which was not
so little, but that in shorthe space it deliuered the miserable
captiue of his life: a cryer with a loude voice makinge
proclamation, *Fumo punitur qui fumum vendidit*: which is
to saye: He that solde smoke, is smouldered in smoke. In
all famous cities, he caused storehouses to be made, one-
ly seruing for safe keeping of the goodes and riches of such
neighbours as doubted robbing.

He made in Rome newe principall strætes, wherein
he buylt stately and delightfome houses, which he gaue in
rewarde vnto his friendes and seruantes that were wise
and vertuous.

Garmentes of pure silke he was neuer knowen, ei-
ther to buy or weare: and if by chaunce any were giuen
or presented vnto him, he bestowed them vpon the priests
of the Temples, to be apparelled when they shoulde
offer sacrifices. He was neither enuious, or couetous
of other mennes goods: and in this case he vsed to saye,
that the couetous Prince doth finishe and conclude in ty-
rannie.

Naturally he had compassion of the poore, but mozte
chiefely of the needie shamefaste man: that is to saye,
that in former times had been in honour, & afterwards fell
into

into extreme pouertie : for he vsed to saye: there is no kind of mishappe so vnfortunate, as for a man to call to remembrance that in times past he had bene fortunate. All that he did take and confiscate of malefactours, he commaunded to be giuen vnto shameshafte poore men: with an inquisition before hande, howe he fell into such pouertie: whether by vicious aduersitie, or by some other casualtie: for he helde opinion, that to make him riche, which by vice was made poore, were a cruell deede.

CHAP. V.

¶ Of his zeale of iustice and other commendable actes, as well touching his person, as his common wealch.

ALL the dayes of his Empire, he entertained but one Physician, vnto whom, or any other, he did not at any time yelde his pulse, either of any Physician take counsell: and to him would oft saye in iest, thinke not that I giue thee to eate, to cure mee: but to the ende thou shalt not cure mee. He neither delighted in Physicke, or that Physicians should remaine in Rome: and for defence of his opinion he vsed to saye, that as greate infirmities doe not happen but by great excesse: so it argueth that the Prince which is compassed with Physicians, goeth charged with many vices. Presidents of prouinces, when he sent them to be resident in their ciuities, he did not onely instruct what they ought to doe, but also prouided them for all necessities: and at their returne, if they had done well, he relieved their necessities with his great liberallitie: but if they had done euil, he distressed them both of goods and fame. Pretors, Censors, and presidentes that had charge of iustice, if they had no wiues, he compelled to take concubines into their houses, to the ende they should

should not followe other mennes wiues: for he helde opinion, that it were not agreable vnto Iustice, or according vnto the honour of Rome, that the Iudges for adulterie, should be accused of adulterie. Vnto CHRIST he would haue made a temple in Rome, and placed him in the number of their Gods, which also was said of the Emperour Adrian: but the priestes of the temples dissuaded him, saying: that they had receiued answer of the oracle that if he should persourne that acte, all other temples should perishe, and all persons would conuert themselves and become Christians. Alexander in Iestes, was gracious: in fables, inuentiue: in bankets, a companion: in gathering of golde, skilfull: in conseruing, aduised: in searching of mines, diligent: in giuing, liberall: and in speculation of newe deuices, exceeding carefull. In earnest or in iest, in worde or in writing, he would not be called, but Romane: for which purpose, he made sundry diligent searches of his genealogie, wherby he gaue demonstration of his descent from the Fabiours Metelloes, which were noble and auncient Romanes. Hee brought vnto Rome great learned men, to reade all Sciences: to which effect he erected many colledges and studies, and indued them with greate rents, where the sonnes onely of poore men were receiued and taught. Gouernours of prouinces he punished moste grieuouly, for their offence in Iustice: especially, if they were noted, or rather accused, of hyperte: but if by malice they were wrongfully accused, the accuser receiued the chastisement of the accused. This good Prince was pittifull vnto all offendours, except theues, and false witnesses: against whome he vsed extreme iustice: and respecting the offence to redound, not so much vnto him selfe, as vnto others, he affirmed: that the Prince ought not to giue them pardon. Hee had alwayes in his chamber a booke wherein were written all notable seruices which had bene done vnto him: he also entred into the same, all greate rewardees that he had giuen: and if any man happened to do him some notable seruice, and

craued no recompence in consideration thereof: he would
 » call him and saye these, or such like wordes: What is the
 » matter that thou demandest nothing of mee: perchance
 » thou wouldest haue mee thy debtpour for thy seruice, since
 » thou seekest not the recompence of thy trauell. Seemeth it
 » well vnto thee, that thou shouldest obtaine the fame of a
 » faithfull seruaunt, and by thy meane I should purchase
 » the renoune of an ingrate prince? Howe shall others re-
 » ceine courage to serue mee, when they see thee vncor-
 » pened for seruice past? knowest thou not, that if it be
 » iuste, that seruants for treason committed, be put to death:
 » is it not also most iust, that Princes for their ingratitude
 » be abhorred? presupposing that thou wouldest serue mee,
 » without respect to profite thy selfe, of my magnificence:
 » wherein I giue thee to vnderstande, I finde my selfe more
 » offended then serued: for at all times when they shall
 » praise thee for that which thou hast done for mee, they shall
 » despise mee, not onely for ingratitude, but rather for ha-
 » tred which I shall seeme to beare vnto thee. And if thou
 » ceasest to craue, in thinking mee to be in necessitie, and
 » not able to accomplish with all persons, moste vaine is
 » thy iudgement: for that the Prince, hauing no other
 » meane to paye, is so muche bound to recompence seruice,
 » that he hath to redeme it, euen from his ordinarie diet.
 » Consoformable vnto thine estate, demaunde what thou
 » wilt: for since thou beeing a seruaunt, hadst a minde to
 » serue: it is iust, that I beeing a Prince, shoulde haue re-
 » wardes to giue thee.

These, and such other wordes Alexander vsed to say,
 vnto such as were mindfull to serue him: and forgetfull
 to craue of him. Those that serued him, and others that
 craued of him, he did neuer recompence with the reward
 of any office of iustice: but such as had serued him, he re-
 compenced their seruice, with houses, Jewels, inheritan-
 ces, or money.

For any importunitie which they should vse with him,
 any seruice which they should do him, any Jewels which
 they

they should present him, or any fauour which they had
 of him, he gaue not at any time, vnto any person, any of-
 fice for gouernement of iustice: if he had not sene abilitie
 in his person, and merite in his life. Every seuentene
 dayes, he payed his men of warre: and when they depar-
 ted out of Italie, to conquire any countrey, he did ease
 them with beastes whereon to ride, and succoured them
 with money to spende, for maintenaunce of their horses
 of seruice in courage, and their persons from wearinesse.
 When he trauelled vppon the way, he payde for the lod-
 ging of all his traine, & did beare the charges of all sicke
 persons.

Certaine Christians, and certaine sauerners came be-
 fore him to plead for a parcell of ground, where the Chri-
 stians would haue erected an house of prayer, there to
 worship Christ their God: and on the other side, the sau-
 erners alledged their great necessitie of that situation, for
 sauernes for the people: in which matter Alexander gaue
 this sentence. Diuine thinges ought alwayes to haue pre-
 ferment before humaine matters: wherefore, I saye and
 commaunde, that the Christians make their house for
 Christe their God: for, admitting their God is vnto vs
 vnknown, yet his honour is to be preferred before the
 profite of sauerners.

CHAP. VI.

Howe warre was offered in Asia vnto Alex-
 ander, and what was saide vnto his
 Ambassadors,

In the eleuenth yere after the beginning of the Empire
 of Alexander, soudainly he receiued letters from Asia,
 wherein

wherein he was giuen to vnderstande by his Romane officers, that there were resident, how Artaxerxes king of the Persians had subdued, and also slaine Arthabanus king of the Parthians: and not contented with that victorie, beganne also to occupie and possesse Assyria and Mesopotamia, prouinces subiect vnto Rome. Vpon which newes, Alexander seemed to receiue some trouble of minde, partely to haue warres in Asia, which alwayes was vnto the Romanes both daungerous and costly: and partely, for that in tenne yeares past, he had seene no enemie against him in armour: as also, for that the successe of warres consisteth not in leading greate armies, but in the fauourable prouision of the destinies.

Alexander, from his infancie, had bene bredde in peace, had governed the Empire in peace, and naturally also was inclined vnto peace: in respect whereof, it was no maruelle though he were annoyed with warres: for that the trouble and disquietnesse which warre bringeth with it, is more conuenient vnto cruell and vnquiet persons, then for men of reposed mindes.

He commaunded his priuate seruantes deputed for his counsel, to ioyne with the Senate, ioynly to reade the letters that were written to him out of Asia, and to determine howe they should be aunswered: for, as negligence is hurtfull in all graue affaires, so in the warres it slayeth. The letters being read, although they were therein of sundry iudgements, yet in the ende they resumed, that befoze they made Artaxerxes warre, they shuld request with peace: for, admitting that at that present he destroyed the Romane territories, yet were it not agreeable vnto the greatenesse and sinceritie of Rome, to take warre in hande, befoze that such warre were very well iustified. With greate breuitie Alexander dispatched Ambassadors into Asia, and by them did write vnto Artaxerxes king of the Persians a letter, after this manner.

Alexander

Emperour, to Artaxerxes king of
Persians, health & peace,
in the pacified
Gods.

Wee salute thee with health, because we wishe it thee: and we salute thee with peace, for that wee be louers thereof: and thou hast not to holde it in small estimation, that I salute thee in peace, and wish thee health: for vnto Princes that possesse not health, life is tedious: and they which haue not peace, it were lesse euil to be dead. It may chaunce, that the warre which a man hath against his owne proper sensualitye sufficeth not, but that he must inuent warre against some straunge countrie. A man that may not subdue his heart, which within his own body is imprisoned, thinketh he to conquire the whole world that is placed in so great libertie? If in time of peace wee may not liue in quietnesse: what shal wee do when wee awake new enemies against vs? The Prince that may not persuaide him selfe to conforme his wil and mind to the iudgement of one onely person, doth he think to constreine all persons to be appliant to his onely iudgement? Great trauell hath the poore man, that wanteth all things: but much more hath the Prince y^e is contented with nothing. Here we vnderstand, that y^e hast aduentured thy person, spent thy treasure, employed thy friends, & destroyed many people, to be lord of the Parthians: & we fully beleue, that now thou art no more satisfied, then when thou wert only king of Persia: for, contentation consisteth not in conquering strange kingdoms: but in taming & moderating our own proper desires. Neither the Parthians

H b. iiii. there

there in Asia, neither the Romanes here in Europa, haue committed any deede, wherfore thou shouldest murther the, or manace vs: but it may come to passe, that they shal reuenge their iniurie, and we destroye thy potencie: because for the more parte, there neuer groweth any daunger towards vs by our enimies which haue vs in hatred: but from our friends whom we haue offended. The Romanes and Parthians at all times haue bene thy good friendes, and thou hast attempted an enterprise to offend them: but I sweare vnto thee by the immortall Gods, that if thou doest not restore them that which thou hast taken, and to vs, that which wee possesse: in such manner, we Romanes wil make thee warre, that from commaunding as a king of Asia, thou shalt come to serue as a vassal seruauit in Rome. There wee sende thee our Ambassadors, which shall declare vnto thee our will, heare them and beleue them: and if thou wilt not giue faich vnto the woordes which they shall speake, thou shalt hereafter giue credit vnto the armies which wee will sende. No more, but that our Gods be with thee, and thine alwayes with mee.

The Romane Ambassadors which passed into Asia with this letter, afterwarde reported, that when king Artaxerxes had perused the same twice or thrice, he spake in this manner.

Certeine woordes uttered by Artax-

erxes vpon the receipt of Alexander his Ambassage.

I haue

I haue read this letter of your Prince, more then once or twice: and as appeareth by the style thereof, he hath spent more time in the Achademies, studying: then in the fieldes, fighting: because warrelike Princes haue high thoughtes, and reasons very short: but in armes verie doughtie.

I accept your Ambassage, and explicate your credite, since the meaning of your Prince is, that I shall leaue what I haue taken from the Parthians, and not occupie my selfe in possessing that which apperteineth vnto the Romanes: vnto this aunsweringe, I saye: that the lawe which hath ordeined, this is thine, and this is mine, proceeded from base mindes and humble heartes, that wanted hardinesse to enterprise greate thinges: immagining to defende by bookes, that which they durst not winne with armes. The lawes made by poore Philosophers ought not to prejudice the greatnesse of Princes: because the Goddes haue determined, that all thinges shall bee proper, except kingdomes, which amongst Princes should be common: the right whereof consisteth not in such as doe inherite them, but in them which may winne them.

The heroycall Princes, and high mindes, are not to bee satisfied with the patrimonies of their predeceffours: muche lesse apperteineth it vnto their greatnesse, to demand by lawe, that which their enimies haue taken from them: but for preservation of their inheritaunce to spende their treasure, and for conquering and subduing kingdomes, euery houre to aduenture their liues.

And since it is thus, that there is no king so vertu-

H h.iiii.

ous,

ous; but enuie the anothers kingdome: I am determined to conserue that which I haue taken from the Parthians, and to take what I may from the Romanes: and if fortune shalbee frowarde in this my iourney, at the least all men shall prayse the greatnes of my minde.

These and such other wordes Artaxerxes vsed with the Romane Ambassadors, which (as they afterwards reported in Rome) did not so much maruell at that which he saide, as of the minde wherewith he did manifest the same: for he seemed not to talke with the young, but to fight with his handes. Nowe, when the Ambassadors were dispatched and departed from the court, he called them againe and said: Saye vnto Alexander your prince, that I meane not to aunswere vnto his philosophical letter: but in place of writing, I assigne him the fildes for paper, the lance for the penne, blood for ynke, & woundes for wordes. The Ambassadors being returned vnto Rome, and reporting all that had happened with Artaxerxes, the Senate were not a little touched therewith, and all the people conceiued no small indignation, ioyntly swearing to breake the pride of Artaxerxes, & to reuenge the wordes that he had spoken against Rome. This Prince Artaxerxes was much loued and liked of his people, and no lesse feared of straungers: and a thing moste to be noted in him, was, that if in taking from others he had the shewe of a tyrant, after he possessed the same, he did gouerne as a right and iust Prince. Many Romanes requested Alexander, to assemble Sorcerers, and Magicians, to declare the successe of that warre: whiche he woulde not in any wise accomplishe, either might well indure the hearing thereof, affirming: that if as the Magicians & Soothsayers, by their art, haue knowlege to vnderstand things to come, so they had power to remedie the mischief which they should find, it were not vniust to

cons

conferre with them, & also to serue them: but since I am certaine that I may not escape what my destinies wil cast vpon mee, I will rather sticke vnto that which the Gods shall determine, then vnto that which the Magicians shall report and imagine.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of a discrete speech vsed by Alexander vnto his men of warre.

Alexander vnderstanding the proud answere that Artaxerxes had giuen vnto his Ambassadors, determined against him to denounce warre: vnto whiche end hee sent his mandats to all prouinces, cities, subiects, and confederats with the Romane Empire, to succour them with monie, and assist them with their most warlike people. Celestiall yeres were past, in which the Empire enioyed most perfecte peace and tranquillitie: and vpon the tidings of these new warres into Asia, they were not a little amazed and scandalized: partly for exacting newe tributes, and partly for demanding their husbands and sonnes for the warres. With grateful minds and ready disposition, the imperialists accepted the Emperour Alexander in his requestes, and were no lesse ready to yeld their monie, their sonnes, and persons to be employed in his service: because they were fully perswaded, that neither by his fault, that warre was raised: either by his want of merite, to finde therein any misfortune. During the time that monie was collecting, and the men of warre assembling, he commaunded all the Capitaines, Centurions, and the most principal of all his garrisons and armies, to come before him: who being placed in the field, and hee himselfe aduanced aloft, he spake to them after this maner.

Hb.v. Alexan-

Alexander his Oration, to his Capi-

taines and armie, assembled in
the field.

Brethren, companions, and my friends, I beseeche the immortall Gods, to giue vnto my tongue sweete eloquence, touching that which I haue to say: and to place in your hartes congruent attention, concerning that which you haue to heare: because, grace to perswade in him that speaketh, and permission to be perswaded in him that heareth, are gifts that many craue, but verie few obtaine. The inclination wherwith we are ledd, is so proud, and the malice of man so wilie, y^e there is none which esteemeth himselfe so simple, but thinketh to know that which another vnderstandeth: and therefore, for one man to haue skill to perswade many, is a gift that the gods onely do giue. With the feueritie of Demostheries, the prudence of Pythagoras, the wisdome of Plato, and the eloquence of Cicero, many may hardly perswade one person: & doth oie man thinke to perswade many? That which I haue presently to say vnto you, is not to the ende that ye shal do what I wil, but to vnderstand what it is that you will: because, in great and graue affaires, one hath to propound, but many to determine. But comming to the purpose: you haue knowen & seene, that these xi. yeares we haue governed the Romane Empire: in which space we haue trauelled to conserue all men in iustice, & shunned all occasions that might hinder our peace: wherein we haue cause to gite thanks vnto the Gods, since we haue deserved to enioy in oure time, y^e which our predecessours neuer obtained. Although a
prince

prince in his condition be a Saturnine, and in his life not well aduised, in conuersation vnbridled, in keeping couetous, and proud in his owne estimation: yet all is to bee suffered and dissimuled, if hee hold peace with strangers, and without acception of persons, doe equall iustice vnto his subiectes. It is knowen vnto you all; that Artaxerxes king of Persians, hath destroyed the Parthians, and dealt foulely with all oure confederats & friendes, and yet remayneth in so great power in Asia, y^e there is not against him one launce in the Reste: but your heroycall deedes and noble mindes being considered, wee thinke not that ye either meruaile, or haue any doubt thereof: for that admiration proceedeth of small wisdome, and feare of cowardnesse. Heroycall persons, that amongst others would be notified, receiue with equall mindes aduersitie and prosperitie: for vnto such men, though the ioy of prosperitie, and the smarte of aduersitie bee vncertaine, yet is their glorie vnuariable. Leauing the Gods, and speaking of the affaires of men, nothing may iustly bee termed great, but that which bringeth with it great inconuenience: and then one is of more valure then all, when one doeth that whiche all leaue vndone: for, greatnesse consisteth not in possesing proud desires: but in perfourming deedes of noblenesse.

From Rome wee haue sent oure Embassadours vnto Artaxerxes, to perswade him to leaue those prouinces whiche hee hath taken, and to abstaine from them which hee ment to take: which hee not onely refuseth to doe, but hardly might endure the hearing thereof: for which cause, it apperteineth vnto the greatnesse of Rome, to employ it selfe to the breaking
of his

of his pride: for that it proceeded not of lesse vertue to humble the proud, then to aduante the humble. Many of you which be here, haue beene bred, and also present at the glorious acts of Antoninus Pius, and Seuerus my progenitours, noble men of immortall renowne: and notwithstanding that by the antiquitie of your yeares, and the trauels which ye haue passed in the warres, ye may not fight, yet at the least ye shal profite vs by your aduise and counsell: whiche in the warres is verie necessarie, and no lesse profitable: for that in such assembly, one counsell is oft giuen, that exceedeth the seruice of a thousand horsemen. Perfectly wee ought to hope, that wee Romanes shal bee conquerours, and the Barbarians ouerthrowen: not onely for that they first raised this warre, but also because we haue requested them with peace: wherein y Gods are so iust, that very sildome they permit them to enioy the victorie, who were the occasion to raise that warre. And doubt ye neuer the more, for that our armour is old & rustie: because the felicitie of warre, consisteth not in bright armour, but in doughtie harts and noble mindes. Many which march on land in bright armour, be ouercome: and all men that go by sea, weare rustie armour, and doe conquere: in such wise, that warre is not mainteyned with armour of yron, but with heartes of steele. And be not escadalized with consideration that ye haue to fight vnder the standard of a young prince, which wanteth experience in the warres: but as of the rest, so of this ye shal haue no cause to doubt: for that I go determined, intending in the acte of fighting, to fight as one of you: & in matters of counsell, to yeeld my selfe vnto the counsel of the auncient.

For a-

For any want of victuals, neither haue ye to suspecte: for that we are provided alreadie in the chanel of Byzantio, with wheate of Sicyl, wines of Cadie, bacon of Campania, oyle of Spaine, salt of Capua, pouldred beefe of Cerdonia, and oates and beanes of Normandie. For other pleasaunt and delectable things, I neither comaund to search, either would I (if they were found) suffer them to be transported: because in the warres, they may hardly subdue their enemies, that are ouercome with vices. Scipio the African, when he went to besiege the renowned Numantia, founde thirtie thousand Romanes (which xliii. yeares had beene at the siege thereof) enuironed with two hundred thousand vices: who (like a skilfull Capitaine) banished both vice & vicious persons out of his campe: this being accomplished, presently the enemies were ouercome. In this iourney so tedious, perilous, chargeable & costly, I would not that ye should do more then ye shall see me doe: because in trauell vpon the way, sayling on the sea, defending passages, executing on y enemies, and in the vsage of my person, ye shall finde mee an affable companion, and no niggardly prince.

These, and such other wordes Alexander vsed vnto his armie: which being heard, with lowde voyces they did all with the Gods to preserve his life, and said with one assent, that they were ready to go and die in that warre in his seruice. This speech being ended, he diuided amongst his armies much monie, according to the custome of the Romane Emperours: which was not giuen in part of payment of their wages, but to animate them, that with the better wil they might indure the trauels of warre.

CHAP.

¶ Howe the Romanes were ouercome of the Persians.

“ *A*fter that Alexander had discoursed wth his Captaines and prouided all thinges necessarie for his iourney, he commaunded open warre to be proclaimed against Asia, & a day appointed for his departing: befoze which time, hee made great sacrifices in the temples, and bolnes vnto the Gods: because the good Romane princes vsed for custome, first to pacifie the y^e of the Gods, befoze they tooke armes against their enemies. On the day in which he issued out of Rome, all the Senate and people did accompanie him 3. miles: & further also (a thing much to be noted) there was none which beheld him departing, but bitterly fell a weeping: for that being (as he was) a prince so pitifull, of all mē he was cordially and hartily beloued. From the time y^e hee departed from Rome, he stayed not, vntil he arriued at the citie Alexandria: to which place he had commaunded all y^e garrisons of Illyria to repaire, y^e there being assembled, the ignozant might exercise feates of armes: & further, to prouide thinges necessarie for y^e warres. Alexander being arriued at Alexandria, it seemed vnto him, & to his graue Romane counsellors, to send another Embassage to Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, once moze to inuite him to peace: which if he refused, then against him to sound defiance.

Artaxerxes being aduertised of Alexander his passage into Asia, & the coming of his Embassadors into his kingdom, did neither manifest any feare of the Romane power, either was any thing altered with this newe Embassage, making the Legates none other answer, but that shortly he would send a newe embassage. Within 6. dayes after, Artaxerxes sent an embassage of 400. horsemen to Alexander, of the most noble, valiant, and gallantest gentlemen of his armies: and the end wherfoze he sent so many and so braue, was, to terrifie the Romanes with the magnificence of y^e Persians. The Embassage of those 400. persons, were comprised in felwe woordes, and after this maner were they written.

The

Persian king, to Alexander the renowned Emperour.

The great king Artaxerxes, Lord of the Persians, commaundeth thee Alexander, king of the Romanes, to depart out of Asia, and cease to enter possession of Assyria: care not to enter into Ionia, Caria, either to haue to doe with Pontus, the sea Aegeum, either to passe any countrie or prouince which cōfineth or bordereth vpon Europa: for otherwise, in not accomplishing these thinges, it shal be necessarie y^e thou be chastised.

Alexander considering this proud Embassage, commaunded al the 400. Embassadors to be taken, & rewarving others with all the apparell which they did weare, and the iewels which they had, he sent them banished into Phrygia, there to till the lands, & plow wth oren. Some gaue Alexander counsel, not to banish but to hang them: to whom he answered: he that saith in his Embassage no more then he is commaunded, & fighteth for defence of his cōtrie, vniustly they take away his life. Alexander possessing an armie of great power, forgot not to diuide the same into three parts, y^e is to say, sending the one by the way of Armenia, y^e other along the borders of Tygris & Euphrates, & the third part he ledd with himselfe to enter into the countries and fields of his enemies: to the end, that the Persians behelving themselves assailed on euery side, should yeld and stoop to the seruice of the Romanes. In those dayes, y^e Persians had not skil orderly to giue a battel, but y^e ioyntly they fought in heapes, & so either they did subdue, or were subdued: and that which is moze to be meruailed, as well women went to the warres as men: neither did the prince giue wages vnto the one or the other, moze then euery one was able to get, rob, and spoile in the same. Although the Persians were not readie in keeping of aray, yet on the other parte, they were much accustomed vnto armes, and from their youth addided to runne horses, and shote arrowes.

Alex.

considering that the Persians had slaine their parentes, & that their wiues and children were now destroyed by the Germanes. Exceeding was the sorrow which stung Alexanders heart, considering with what haste he was called vnto the warres of Germanie: chiefly, for aduertisement of the necessitie of his personal presence in the same warres: for otherwise, the Romanes would not repaire: and such as came discomfited from Asia, would all depart. The greatest griefe that did cruciate and torment his heart, was, to thinke that at y^e houre in which the fame of his vnfortunat fight should be diuulgate and noysed thzough the Empire, and the Germanes newly revolted, his enemies in Rome would attempt some commotion in the common wealthe: for that it is naturall vnto the common people, to desire daily chaunge of newe Lords. The Emperour Alexander determined in his owne person to be in the warres of Germanie: and on the other part, did write to the Senate amorous letters, sending vnto Rome, to be offered in the temples, great sacrifices: and shippes loaden with wheate and oyle, to be diuided amongst the people: and toynely with this, he secretly provided to furnishe the frontiers with men and victuals: in such wise, that this good prince, in his owne person would goe to the warres against his enemies: and with his goods would winne the heartes of his subiects. With no small diligence, Alexander trauced from Asia to Germanie: and immediately vpon his arrival at Rhene, he made bridges of boates, whereon his armies might freely passe, and also fight with his enemies.

Alexander journeying towards Germanie, enterpeyned certaine people called Maures, which liued in the fieldes Ossroanos, bordering vpon Thracia: who fought with long lances, hauing a head of yron at eche ende, with such dexteritie and readinesse on horseback, that in riding they would take by their lances salne vnto the ground: and also wound their enemies as well in sight, as assault. Many of these Maures were meruailous readie archers at the cross bowe: and as naturally the Germanes are high of bodie,

and

and slow and laden with flesh, and the Maures on the other part, very skilful in shooting, and of like life in skirmishing: so they behaued themselves no more nor no lesse with the Germanes, then an archer with a white at a Butt, that is to say, without all danger to strike the same all to peeces. Although the Romanes were few, yet in their martiall affaires they had prosperous beginning, and no lesse hope of good successe: but y^e Germanes, admitting they were many, yet fought they with great misfortune: because the Romanes were men of experience, but the Germanes chiefly practised manuring the fields. Notwithstanding the Germanes did repent them of their warlike attempts, and Alexander not mistaking his personall iourney: yet the good prince forgot not to request them, and also pray them with peace: for which purpose, he sent vnto them wise Embassadors, that on his behalfe should say vnto them very good wordes, and offer large rewards, with a general pardon of all iniuries: this did hee, not for feare, but yet with some doubt of fortunes variablenesse, which in warlike attempts discovereth her dealing with most vncertaintie. The Germanes most times beginne their warres with choler, and prosecute the same with furie: but in the end, they endure to be perswaded by requests, & to be overcome with monie. During the time that the Embassadors practised peace, they established a truce betwixt both armies, whereat the Romanes hostes were amazed, and no lesse scandalized: for that as then being fledged vpon the Germanes, they would reuenge all iniuries, and also rob them of their goods.

In Alexanders armie there was a Capteine named Maximus, borne in Thracia, in linage obscure, in conditi-
on barbarous, of inclination vicious, in office a manslayer,
and a robber on highe wayes: who, for his balauntnesse in
warrelike affaires, came by all the degrees of cheualrie to
haue y^e charge of men of warre. And to consider a merui-
lous matter of this Maximus, which is to say: y^e as pa-
ture was his aduersarie in depriuing him of vertues natu-
ral, so was Fortune his fauourer in all variable chaunces:

I. 4.

because,

because, then fortune sheweth her greatnes, when such as be of small valure, are aduanced to the possession of mighty things. The Romanes considering holwe Alexander practised peace with the Germanes, and that the truce continuing, he gaue himselfe vnto pleasure and vice, all spoyle and robbing of enemies being remoued, agreed amongst themselves to create Maximius Emperour, & to murder their lord and Emperour Alexander. The case was thus, that Maximius being in the fields, teaching certaine yonge men to play at weapons, the confederate traytours came vnto him, and taking Maximius amongst them, apparelled him with the robe and ensigne of the Empire: who being ignoraunt of their intent, and supposing it to be done in iest, vsed some resistance. But, when Maximius perceived his promotion to be no matter of iest, he determined to kill the true Emperour in earnest: wherof Alexander (all carelesse in his tente) being aduertised, began to change countenance as one soze abashed, and his mother also to fall a weeping. The generous and valiant gentlemen that Alexander had with him, hee did request and perswade to resist the traitour Maximius, and as good ballas & friends, in this case to line and die with him: which they all promised, but afterwards obserued not.

The next day early in the morning, it was said vnto Alexander, that Maximius came accompanied with all the armie: whereuppon Alexander demanding armour to issue forth to fight, there was not one man found that would follow: for y all his men of warre were returned to Maximius, and the most of his seruantes that night were fled. When Maximius came within the biewe of the imperfall tent, where Alexander remayned, he stood still, and commaunded certaine Capitaines to goe to Alexander, not to take, but to kill him: & that by no meanes they should giue him space or place to do any deed, or stay to heare any of his wordes: for that many times delayes in like cases bring to passe, that hee that should haue died, doth kill him that should haue liued.

When

When Maximius his Capitaines came vnto Alexanders tente, he was blaming his mother, saying, that by her auarice and couetousnes hee lost both life and honour: but his complaintes, and her lamentations extended to final purpose: for that ioyntly they slue the sonne, and mangled the mother all to peeces. Herodianus (in his Romane histories) sayth, that this chaunce and death happened vnto Alexander: but other Historiographers, no lesse graue and true, although they say that hee died in Germanie, yet say not that he was subdued in Asia: moreouer, the occasion of his death they report after another maner: because Herodianus knewe not otherwise to excuse the treason committed by Maximius, but to say, for that Alexander had bene overcome, he was odious vnto all the armie.

CHAP. X.

¶ Of a solemne Oration made by Alexander vnto his men of warre,

When Alexander departed from Rome to goe into the warres of Asia, hee had great regard vnto his men of warre, as well for their safetie, as also for robbing such countries as they were to passe: for, as naturall is it for men of warre to rob their neighbours, as to kill enemies. When hee did eate, he had alwayes his tente open: to the end all men of his host should both see and knowe, that the meate which he did eate, had more taste of the sharpnesse of the warres, then of the delicatenesse of Rome. Nightly hee did visite the circuite of his campe: and at all times would giue them false alarmes, to yeld them aptnesse vnto armour, and readinesse to repaire vnto their ensignes. If any person did wander from his standard, either to rob, or but so much as to walke, the qualitie of the person considered, hee receiued punishment more or lesse.

If any were a bzabler with his hoste, freward with his

It is,

comes

„ companions, disobedient vnto his officers, tooke any thing
 „ by violence, or was foule mouthed, hee would say these
 „ wordes vnto him: wouldest thou, that as thou doest, they
 „ should doe, or as thou sayest, they should say vnto thee?
 „ Knowest thou not the prouerbe of the Christians, *Quod*
 „ *tibi no vis, alteri ne feceris*, that is, what thou wilt not to thy
 „ selfe, do not to another. Alexander said that he heard this
 „ prouerbe spoken, and he wist not whether of the Iewes or
 „ Christians: whiche in his heart tooke such deepe impressi-
 „ on, that he did not onely speake and repeate, but also many
 „ times wrote the same vnto his gouernours: and further,
 „ caused them to be drawen vppon his ensignes, and grauen
 „ vpon all his woorkes. Alexander being resident in the ter-
 „ ritozies of Antioche, was informed that a certaine Capi-
 „ taine had abused an auncient woman, both in word and
 „ dede: and both being called into his presence, and the mat-
 „ ter heard, he commaunded the Capitaine to be depriued of
 „ his roome and office, and of the liberties which hee had re-
 „ celued in Rome: and further, that hee should be slaue vnto
 „ the old woman: furthermoze, hee commaunded that in
 „ Carpentars craft he should perfourme his seruice, & main-
 „ teine his old dame. Hee vsed so great seueritie and hard-
 „ nesse with his men of warre, that many times hee dispat-
 „ ched them by whole bandes: for that he might not endure
 „ their ciuil dissentions: or robberies, and scandals among-
 „ est neighbours.

All Romane princes had feare of their armies, except
 Alexander, and the cause why (as he said) hee feared them
 not, was: for that he payed them very well, and remoued
 all occasion of reprehension from his owne person and life:
 for in the ende, none hath true libertie to chastice, but the
 man that is of a sincere life. The armie remayning in An-
 tioche, he was aduertised that they gaue themselves vnto
 women, haunted hoate houses, and spent and lost much
 time in vaine playes and idlenesse: wherevpon hee com-
 maunded all the Capitaines, Tribunes, and Centurions,
 to be taken, and with yrons to be cast into prison, vppon
 which

which cause there grew amongst them, no small scandal:
 in so much that openly they durst say vnto Alexander, if
 on that present day hee did not let them lose, the nexte day
 following they would depart vnto the enimies. Alexander
 being aduertised what his men of warre had said, & what
 they ment to do, commaunded them all to appeare befoze
 his presence, both such as were in bonds, as those that were
 at libertie: saying vnto them these wordes,

Alexander his Oration, made to
 his men of warre, at his commaunde-
 ment before him summoned
 and assembled.

Brothers, friends, and my companions, that which
 now I haue to say vnto you, is more for y loue whi-
 che I beare you, then feare which I haue of you: be-
 cause, princes that haue feare to execute iustice, either
 it is for that they are vniust: or because their subiectes
 should dissemble their owne proper vices. Howe
 would ye that I should suffer you, being (as ye are) no-
 ble Romaines: whom cruell tyrantes would not en-
 dure as their subiectes? There is none so euil, al-
 though hee endeuour not to be vertuous, that of the
 good holdeth not good opinion: wherof followeth,
 that it is much more euill for the common wealthe,
 the prince being vertuous, to suffer persons vicious:
 then him that is vicious, to permit no vice in his com-
 mon wealth.

The prince that consenteth vnto vices, and dissem-
 bleth with vicious persons, is not to be named a piti-
 full father, but a peruerse and a cruell tyrante:

for that, notwithstanding at the present hee doeth not chastice them, yet in proceffe the one shall destroy the other. One vicious, with another that is vicious, may neuer long continue in friendship: for presently vpon the decay of vice, at the instant their friendship faileth. Being (as I am) your prince according to iustice, and your brother in loue, how would ye that I should suffer you to rauish women, play your wages away at dice, spoile orchardes, with other such like vile & heynous deeds? Admitting that now I would passe and dissemble the same, yet doubtlesse, your selues before others would blame & condemne y^e same: because this tribute the good haue ouer the euill, that if they bee greued with the chastisement giuen vnto the euill, in the end they shall some day praise him y^e did iustice. Vnderstand ye not that ye are gentlemen of Rome? and that on the day in which any man taketh the name of a Romane, hee bindeth himselfe to bee vertuous? Because this name of Romanes, was not so much magnified of our predeceffours, by killing enemies in Asia, as by weeding vices out of oure common wealthes.

Wee call the Persians, Barbarians, because they haue taken that which was ours: and doubt ye that of Romanes, they shall not intitle vs tyrantes, that haue spoyled others? I am named Alexander, and would imitate Alexander the great: of whome, and of his father king Philip it is said, that when they brought forth their armies to fighte, they seemed more a Senate in the common wealth, then men of warre. If they had done what ye nowe haue done, neuer might those princes haue obtained so great victories of their enemies, either writers so largely to haue registred their

their noble and glorious deedes, either might I haue prayed them with so good wordes: whereof foloweth, that the chiefeft effecte to ouerthrowe enemies, is, to holde armies verie well disciplined. Princes vse to lose manie victories, not for want of iustified war, but because their men of warre are wicked: and admitting that some times euill men do conquere, yet in the end they shal be vanquished, or else of the gods cruelly chasticed. Let them be certeine, that are either present or absent, if anie one will be euill, either let him returne vnto his house, or else we shal chasten him if he remaine vnder our standard: because it is not iuste that wee, comminge to recouer that which is vsurped from the common wealth, by bearinge with your woorkes, shoulde defame our mother Rome. If we suffer so manie trauels, aduenture out selues in so manie perills, and consume our treasures, it is not for wante of oyle, wheate, wine, plate, or golde, but to magnifie the renowme of the Romaine Empire: and since it is so, howe is it possible for the Gods to permitt, that by the handes of infamous persons, we should obtaine honour or renoune. Numa Pompilius, Quintus Cincinnatus, Marcus Marcellus, Paulus Emilius, Quintus Fabius, Cneus Fabricius, and Scipio Africanus brought to passe, with the Gods that the Romaine empire was accepted, and that through the worlde the name of Rome was reuerced: we read not in histories that these glorious and noble men, in their persons were tyrants, and muche lesse would consente their armies to be vicious. Belceue me, friends and companions, Princes that will mainteine the fame of good Princes, and not recouer the reproche of tyrantes, ought to haue

as greate care to preserue their armies from vice, as to auoyde the treason of enimies: for that men do incurre greater daunger by secrete vices, then by open enimies. That whiche ye haue done, is either good or euill: and if robbing of fieldes, raynsinge of mutinies, and forcing of women, be good: then by this accompt, to honour temples, defende orphans, sacrifice vnto the Gods, and to vse iustice with all people, is wicked: since the lawes whiche condemne the one, allowe the other: whiche of all you is neither to be beleued, either so muche as once to be thought: for, notwithstanding of euill we can say but euill: yet is it muche worse to defende, then do it. If these insolencies whiche I haue rehearsed, and you haue committed, ye holde for euill: why conceiue ye not the chasticement giuen for the same, to be good? If vertue and rewarde be cousines, who wil denie that the trespasse & y punishment are brethren? He that ordeyned the conquerour to triumph, hath he not appointed the theefe to be hanged? Will ye be paid before hande, for seruice vnperfourmed? and will ye neither pay or restore that whiche ye haue purloyned?

Notwithstanding Princes haue greate libertie in the comon wealth, yet are they not exempted or free fro iustice: and will men of warre only be priuileged? The wordes whiche ye haue vttered, and the threatnings which ye haue thundered, neither do I take them as iniuries, or yeald my self to anie grievous agonie: for in killinge me, ye shall kill but one: yet in the ende, there shall not wante in the Empire, one to succcede mee, and also to chastice you.

That whiche I presently requeste and commaund
you

you, is, to amende that whiche is past, presently to imbrace quietnesse, and to be aduised in time to come: whiche if ye refuse, I shall be forced to vse rigour, because I am not to supporte mine Empire, by relieuing vicious souldiours, but in maintenance of all men by iustice.

These and such wordes beeing saide, they became al milde and pacified: and further, all armour beeing laide a parte, in token of obedience: and their heades caste downe, in signe of sorowe: euerie man departed vnto his charge. Whereby, the greate authoritie of Alexander in his commaundements is to bee gathered: and the force whiche he had in his perswadinge speache, to be pondered. The bande and capteineship which he dismissed, after xxx. dayes he did bothe pardon and admitte them: because hee sawe in them greafe repentaunce, for that which was past, and readie mindes to serue him in time to come: and so it came to passe, that after wardes in battell they proued men most notable, and such in daide, as to whome greatest glorie was giuen.

CHAP. XI.

¶ Of the victorie that Alexander obtained against the Persians, and of his triumph, as some writers do report.

When Alexander departed from Rome, because of the warres in Asia, a great part of Summer was past: for which cause, it was necessarie for him to Winter in Antioche: admitting y delay increaseth cost, yet was it profitable for perfourmance of his warlike attempts: for that
in

in mene time, he refozmed his armies, prouided victuals, repayzed high wayes, recovered manie daungerous passages, and also remoued from his enimie manie confederates. When summer began, Alexander marched with his armie: after whose entrance into the lande of Persia, he perfozmed al exploites accustomed in suche a iourney: which is to wæte, bzake bzidges, ouerthzewe fortres, burned houses, sacked townes, spoyled fieldes, killed men, and did captiuat women: whereof we haue not to meruell, for that notwithstandinge warre be iustified, and all thinges iuste therein demaunded, yet alwayes the doedes thereof be moſte vniuſſe. Certeine dayes bee- ing paſt, wherein were traucted diuers daungerous skirmiſhes, and no leſſe perilous incounters, by the conſente of Alexander and Artaxerxes, they committed both their fortunes vnto the merite of a battell: the Perſians being ouerthzowen, and the Romaines remaining conquerours: wherein, if Artaxerxes had ſtaide his hardineſſe, and commended the matter vnto policie, placing his power in his fortres and moſte ſtronger places: if he had ſuffered the Romaines by tracte of time to conſume theſelues, according to the cuſtome of greates armies, in ſtraunge countries: he might haue preſerued, both his countrie and honour. Great riches were recovered in that battell, and infinite the captiues whiche then were taken: and as the Perſians holde it for a moſte greates iniurie to ſerue any ſtraunge nation, ſo Artaxerxes, notwithstandinge hee was pooze and overcome, gathered together greates ſummes of money, and redeemed all captiues: in ſuche wiſe, that in Persia there remained no money, either any captiues came vnto Rome.

Alexander recovered in thoſe warres, the renoume of valiant, magnanime, and not couetous: and he was iuſtly intituled valiant, for his doughtineſſe in fighting: magnanime, for his magnificent liberalitie: and not couetous, for the ſmall ſhare that he reſerued vnto him ſelfe.

The

The affaires of Persia being diſpatched, Alexander returned vnto Rome, entering the ſame with greates triumph, and glorie: for that conformable vnto the people and nation which they had ſubdued, was the riches that was bzought vnto the treaſorie. And after being mounted vpon the Capitol, he ſaide vnto the Senate, after this manner.

*A ſhorter Oration made to
the Senate.*

Fathers Conſcript, for that I come tyred with ſo long a iourney, and you no leſſe wearied in receiuing mee, it were no reaſon to make long ſpeache, muche leſſe to inuent newe eloquence: becauſe there is nothing ſo eloquently ſpoken, but if it bee ſaide out of time or place, ſeemeth tedious vnto the audience. He that ſhall ſpeake, or perſuade others, hath not on- ly to conſider what he ſaith, but alſo to obſerue time, and reſpect the aſſembly: for the Sea at one time, doth permit her ſelfe to be ſpurned: and at another time not to bee touched. By that which ye haue hearde, as that which this day ye haue ſcene, ye may vnderſtand howe daungerous this warre hath bene, and howe copious a victorie we haue obtained: for as ye vnderſtand (Fathers conſcript) there is no great harueſt, without great tillage.

The caſe is thus, that the Perſians had in their fa- uour foure ſcore thouſand footemen, ſixe thouſand horſſemen, ſeuē hundred Elephants, two thou- ſand yron cartes, and two thouſand ſlaues that were young men: the one halfe to beare victuals, and the other halfe to mend high wayes.

On

On that day in which both the one & the other came forth into the fildes to fight, no man woulde haue thought, but y^e the whole world had bene come together, and also the deathe risen out of their graues. Of foote men we slewe twentie thousande, and did captiuate twentie thousande, of horse men two thousande were killed, and three thousande did yealde, of Elephantes we bringe three hundred, and three hundred we haue slaine: the cartes, the slaues, and prisoners, they haue redeemed by the weight of money, in such wise, that we haue taken their countries, overcome their persons, and brought away their goods. I returne safe & sound, y^e armie enriched, king Artaxerxes defeated, the name of Rome magnified, and the confederates satisfied: and with all these trauels though we come wearied, yet are we not fatigated: because victorie is so sweete a thing, that it leade^rth al trauels past into obliuion.

Alexander hauing saide these wordes, the Senate exclaimed with loude voyces.

The immortal Gods saue thee Alexander, the Gods make thy fame immortall, since this day thou haste honoured Rome with euerlasting fame. Thou hast overcome the Persians, visited the Parthians, subdued kinges, enriched the armies, and placed vs in great honour: for which cause, not vnworthily, we intitule thee *Pater Patrie* father of our countrie, Tribune of the people, most highe Bishoppe, first Consul, & only Emperour of the worlde.

These & such other exclamations manifested by the Senate, at the issue of the Capitol gate, Alexander saide vnto all persons that there did attend him.

Fathers, sonnes, brothers, and companions vnto

to the fathers of the Senate, we haue giuen accompt of all that we haue done, and will giue you a reason, as apperteineth, of al that we haue saide. For this day, the triumph paste sufficeth: to morowe, we wil visite the temples: the nexte daye, we will offer greate sacrifices: the fourth day, wee will giue libertie vnto prisoners: the fift day, we will diuide rewardes amongst the poore widowes, and orphans: the sixte day, we wil begin y^e Persike & Circen playes: for considering the greatnesse of our victorie, we wil first accomplishe with the Gods, by whom we haue obtained the same: and then with men which gaue vs their assistance.

When Alexander came from the Capitol, hee mounted on horse backe to ride vnto his palace: whome, at that instant, certeine auncient gentlemen of Rome did take & beare vpon their shoulders, the people gathered together exclaiminge with loude voyces, in this manner.

Blessed is Mamea thy mother, blessed art thou Alexander her sonne, blessed is Rome y^e bred thee, blessed is y^e armie that elected thee, and blessed is y^e Senate y^e did consecrate thee: for in thee is conteyned y^e felicitie of Octavius, & the bountie of Traiane. Thou hast lead with thee into the warres, our husbands, our sonnes, and our friendes, whome thou bringest backe with thee all sounde, all riche, and likewise all contented: wherefore, we say vnto thee, that if this day we place thee vpon our shoulders, for euer more we will lay vp thy memorie in our entayles.

In these exclamations the people continued, before and behinde, for the space of foure houres, extremly passing all passage, vntill the chariote triumphant, with foure Elephants, made the wayes open. All y^e which he saide vnto y^e people, he commaunded presently to be accomplished.

At the ende of these feastes, he did institute a temple of virgines, who were named *Maneas*, in reuerence of his mother *Manea*. At the same time he receiued newes, that at Tanger a citie of Africa, *Furius Celsus* had obtained victorie, and *Iunius Palinatus* likewise in Armenia triumphed over the enimies, as also *Varius Macrinus* in Illyria had made a conquest of certein countries: and the currers which brought him newes, presented him also with three tables of *Natwell*. The feastes and triumphes being finished, he woulde be informed of the officers of the common wealth, that is to say: how in his absence they had vsed the people, and howe they had administred iustice: and suche as had not done well, he remoued: and those that had done well, he rewarded: giuing vnto some moze honourable offices, and to others heritages and money. Many times Alexander woulde say, that they deserued as greate glorie that in time of warre did well gouerne the common wealth, as they whiche in the warres obtained victorie.

CHAP. XII.

Of thinges whiche he did in Rome, and howe the tyrant *Maximius* did kill him in Britaine.

After that Alexander had saboured and triumphed ouer the Persians, certein dayes he was deteined in the gouernement and reformation of the common wealth: because the longe absence of princes breedeth wante of iustice amongst the multitude. Of all the riches that he brought from the warres of Asia, he tooke for himselfe, but one horse, one chariot, some Elephantes, one sword, one cuppe of Iux, and a paper of pointes, which belonged vnto kinge *Artaxerxes*: for as he saide, The pray of princes, ought to be employed on princes. The

defence of the most dangerous frontiers, he committed not but vnto men y had great wealth in the same: which if he had not, he gaue it them in such wise, that to conserue his fidelitie which he did owe, & to saue his goods which he possessed, he should be forced to defende his countrie, or dye in the enterprise.

There was in Rome in those dayes a Mathematician, named *Thrasibulus*, of whō Alexander demaunded what death he should dye: who answered: thou shalt dye in a strange countrie, not in thine olde age, but by y sword of a Barbarian: whereat Alexander was nothing altered, but rather with excedding ioy embracing *Thrasibulus* said:

A certein speech of Alexander against the terror of death.

If the Gods did graunt vnto other princes to liue perpetually, and commaund mee onely to dye, I confesse I should dolefully feeble the deepe of death: but our life being (as it is) so shorte, and death so necessaric: I had rather dye in the field by the handes of mine enimies, then in my chamber compassed with Physicians. Vnto the greatnesse of Princes it appertaineth, not onely to lead a good life, but also elect an honourable death: and to this ende I say vnto thee *Thrasibulus*, that all y felicitie of a Prince consisteth in well gouerning the common wealth, and also to imploye his life for the same. What fame, or glorie, what ease or quietnesse, doth followe the life of that Prince which dieth in his olde yeres, and sickely: in which age, for the most parte, olde men be euil serued of their subiectes, and contemned of straungers. He that conceiueth it to bee good for the priest to dye in the temple, conceiueth no lesse of the Prince that dyeth in the field: for that the office of the one is to praye, & of the other to fight.

Kk.i.

I haue

I haue scene many dye here in Rome, after the manner which the common people do thinke the best kinde of death: that is to saye, laden with yeares, laide in their beddes, accompanied with sonnes, honoured of parents, compassed with sonnes in lawe, visited of Physicians, and serued of nephues: at whose death, I beare no enuie: since I knewe of them, that before their bodies were tasted of woormes, their hearts were vnbowelled with griefe & thought.

Thrasibulus, thou doest well knowe, that Alexander, Darius, Hector, Pompeyus, Gayus, Tullius, Seneca, and Demosthenes, were men in their persons verie glorious, in doctrines verie wise, and in their deedes no lesse heroycall: and yet all these with many others dyed, not accompanied with their friends, but by the handes of their enemies: neither were they blemished with so vntimely a death, since of them nothing was lesse esteemed: but rather by their cruell deaths, they aduanced their fames. No other thing is diuers in death, but onely the manner of the same, sithence death in the ende is alwayes but one thing: for we should not be afflicted with the manner of our death: but what thinges we should repaire, to the amēdement of our life. Admitting that these cōsiderations, apperteine more vnto Philosophers, then vnto the simple: yet I saye both to thee and other, that as it was not in our handes to be borne, so shal not the manner of our death consist in our selues: but y^e houre being arriued, there and then shall euery man finde for him selfe, what fortune hath provided.

all

All these thinges Alexander saide vnto Thrasibulus in secrete, and after wards openly in the hearing of all men. Not manie dayes after these thinges passed, Alexander departed vnto the warres of Germanie, which were not prosecuted in Germanie, but in Gallia transalpina: for because the French men were subiect vnto the Romans, the Germanes did invade them. Alexander beeing in the greatest heate of these warres, certeine mutinous souldiours and olde seruantes of Heliogabalus, did create a capteine, named Maximus, Emperour: because the Emperour Alexander woulde not consente, but utterly detested their horrible and vicious actes. Alexander remaining in the lesser Britaine in a place named Cilicia, Maximus & his trayterous adherentes determined to kill him their Lorde and Emperour, befoze it might be manifested thzough the armies: for y^e, notwithstanding diuers of them did doubt his seueritie, yet on the other parte all persons did loue his iustice.

Alexander reposinge at after noone, y^e traytours agreed with a iester to murther him in his tente: who beeing entred, fel into such dismay, that he not only gaue ouer his determined attempt vnperfourmed, but also fledde with no small doubt and feare affrighted. But beeing afterwards retyzed vnto Maximus and his companions, perswaded them presently to kill Alexander, beeing at that time on his bedde solitarie and vnaccompanied, for that other wise he woulde discouer their whole intente: which he saide, because it was A lawe Martiall, that anie which shoulde aduenture to enter the tente of the prince without licence, shoulde pay no lesse then the losse of his life. Maximus and his complices consideringe what the iester had saide, presently determined to murther their Lorde and Emperour Alexander: and so ioyntly and furiously entringe his tente, slewe both him, his mother, and all persons that made resistance, or ouerthwarted them

B.ii.

with

with anie displeasunt speache. Alexander died one the twelfth of June, after thirtene yerres & nine dayes of his Empire were expired: he liued twentie & nine yerres, three moneths, and seven dayes: and was a Prince in Rome moste loued in his life, and most bewayled at his death. The enimies of Alexander did note him, that he despised in him selfe to be natie in Assyria, that he loued gold, inuented newe tributes, was seuer with souldiours, did what he could to resemble Alexander Magnus, and that he was somewhat suspicious. But the thing wherefoze Alexander was most blamed, and iustly deserued to bee noted, was, that being a man, and of greate experience in the gouernement of the Empire, he continued subiect vnto his mother, as when he was a childe: and in this case it was sufficient, that he had reuerenced and honoured her as a mother: and on the other parte to haue considered, that her counsell in the ende, was but of a woman. Alexander was so vniuersally beloued of all nations of the Empire, that it chaunced at his death, which neuer was read to haue chaunced at the death of any Prince of the world, that is to saye: that they were allaine which brought the newes of his death: neither the commaundements of commissions of his successour, woulde they obey: aduouchinge it to bee blasphemie in the place of so vertuous a Prince, to yelde obedience vnto a traytour so detestable.

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Other.
Mamea, and

so it must be read, wherefoeuer it is found.

A generall Table, conteyning

the titles or arguments of euery

Chapter throughout the bodie

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(.)

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uerted in Spaine.
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 - 3 Howe Traiane passed out of Spaine, being a young man to goe into Italie.
 - 4 Of the friendship and parentage that Traiane had with the Emperour Nerua.
 - 5 Howe Nerua was made Emperour, and adopted Traiane his sonne.
 - 6 Of the lawes that Traiane made, to the profite of the common wealth.
 - 7 Of the noble and notable vertues that were in Traiane.
 - 8 Of the proude and stately buyldings which Traiane made.
 - 9 Of some vices whereof Traiane was noted.
 - 10 Of the first warres that Traiane had against the Datians.
 - 11 Howe Traiane triumphed ouer the Datians, and reformed his common wealth.
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 - 14 Of the second entring of Rome by the Emperour Traiane, and the notable thinges, which he did in the same.
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- 17 Of the honourable titles that the Romanes sent vnto Traiane, and of the earthquake in Antioche.
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 - 3 Of the friendes and enimies which Adrian had.
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 6 Howe Commodus was cruell, and of the cruelties which he vsed.
 7 Of a certeine conspiracie attempted against Commodus, and of Perennius his moste fauoured Counsellour.
 8 Of a conspiracie that Perennius wrought against the Emperour Commodus.
 9 Of the tyrant Maternus, and of his treason against Commodus.
 10 Of the unexpected death of Cleander, a fauoured and moste priuate seruauant vnto Commodus.
 11 The reporte of a fyre which descended from Heauen, and burned in Rome the Temple of Peace.
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FINIS.

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